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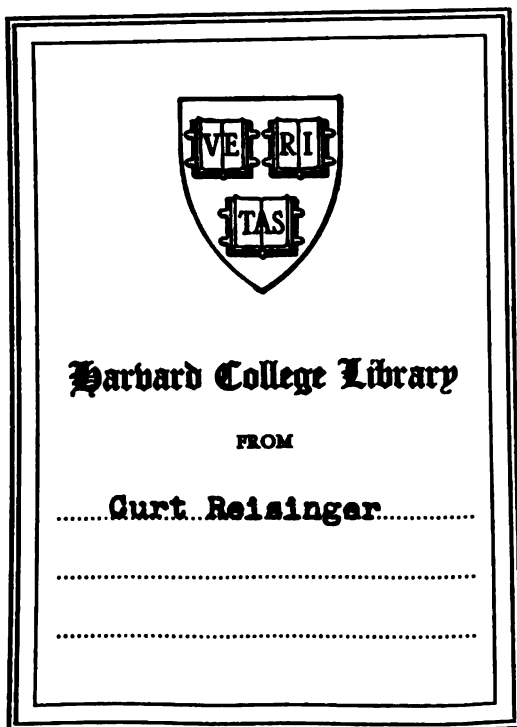
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Great Captains

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS

A HISTORY OF THE ART OF WAR FROM ITS REVIVAL AFTER THE MIDDLE AGES TO THE END OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION WAR, WITH A DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE CAMPAIGNS OF THE GREAT SWEDE, AND OF THE MOST FAMOUS CAMPAIGNS OF TURENNE, CONDÉ, EUGENE, AND MARLBOROUGH.

*WITH 237 CHARTS, MAPS, PLANS OF BATTLES AND
TACTICAL MANŒUVRES, CUTS OF UNIFORMS,
ARMS, AND WEAPONS*

BY

THEODORE AYRAULT DODGE

BREVET LIEUTENANT-COLONEL UNITED STATES ARMY, RETIRED LIST; AUTHOR OF "THE CAMPAIGN OF CHANCELLORSVILLE," "A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF OUR CIVIL WAR," "PATROCLUS AND FENELON. A CHAT IN THE SADDLE," "GREAT CAPTAINS," "ALEXANDER," "HANNIBAL," "CÆSAR," ETC., ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES — VOLUME II.



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FOURTH IMPRESSION

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GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

XXXIII.

CROMWELL. 1642-1651.

CROMWELL was one of the greatest of men. His rank among generals is less high. He was the originator of the New Model soldier of the Commonwealth, — the regular who defeated successively all the militia of the royalists. He was an accomplished cavalry leader, who never failed to win whenever he charged. But Cromwell was not a great strategist, however good a tactician; and the opposition to him was never serious. His record of victories is interesting rather than brilliant; Marston Moor, Naseby, Dunbar, Worcester, make grand chapters in English history, but they do not teach us what Breitenfeld and Blenheim do. No one can underrate the services of Cromwell to England; he was a man capable of doing splendidly anything to which he put his hand; as statesman he has had few equals, but as a mere soldier he can scarcely aspire to the second rank. That he copied Gustavus was but natural; the whole of Europe, ever since 1630, had been copying him; and it is a slur on Cromwell's memory to assert that he was so lacking in intelligence as not to know what Gustavus had been doing. As a soldier he is strictly a product of the Swedish school. As a man he was essentially English — and his own prototype.

TEN years after the death of Gustavus on the field of Lützen, the civil war in England broke out. Charles stood at Nottingham with a patchwork army of ten thousand men. Prince Rupert ("Rupert of the Rhine," son of Frederick of the Palatinate and Elizabeth of England) was in command of the horse. The parliament army of double its numbers, but equally scrappy, lay in its front, under Devereux. Many officers in both armies had been trained in the Thirty Years' War; but there were as many tramps under both colors as there were soldiers. Roughly, the middle classes and the southern and eastern counties were with the parliament; the upper classes, the peasantry and the northern and western

counties were with the king; but there was no such line of demarcation as in our civil war. Except unmethodical operations, and the fact that Cromwell began to discipline his "Ironsides" in the winter of 1642, little occurred for two years. The parliament lost rather than gained ground, and England felt in a lesser degree what had been the horrors of the war in Germany.

Cromwell began his "New Model" discipline with a troop, of which he was captain. There was nothing new in it; it was but the imitation by a strong, resolute, intelligent man of what another great man and greater captain had done within the generation. Cromwell was broad enough to understand what he and all other Englishmen had watched, the wonderful campaigns of 1630, 1631 and 1632 in Germany; and wise enough, when the occasion came, to apply the lessons they taught. To assert that his military skill was but a reflection of Gustavus' is no slight to Cromwell, who as a man and a ruler was the equal of the Swede.

Cromwell's men were honest, pious yeomen. He asked, he could have, no better material on which to work; and he trained himself as he trained them, rising from captain of a troop to colonel of a regiment, general of a brigade of horse, commander of an army, captain-general. On the parliament muster-rolls were twenty thousand foot and five thousand horse, or twenty regiments and seventy-five troops of sixty sabres each. In the cavalry, as it first stood, Cromwell served as captain, and among the officers of regiments and troops were numbers of his relations and friends. The cavalry corps was home to him.

At Edgehill, on October 23, 1642, the royalists had twelve thousand men, the parliament fifteen thousand. Volcanic Rupert, on the royal right, charged and routed Essex's left, and then characteristically turned to plunder in Kineton.

The royal left had equal success, and the battle seemed lost, when there came up thirteen troops of the cavalry of the parliament, among them Cromwell's. They had other ideas in their heads than plunder. Riding in on the victorious royal foot, they at once turned the tide. The infantry was helpless; it was mowed down like grass. Rupert only returned in season to save the king from capture and to cover the retreat. Of the four (some say six) thousand loss the royal army bore the most. Edgehill proved that Rupert was gallant but unsteady; that the royal foot was wretched; and that the army of the parliament lacked cohesion. But it also showed in England what Gustavus had shown in Germany, that a man may carry the Bible into camp, and yet use his sabre-arm like the best of the fire-eaters, — as no fire-eater ever can.

Cromwell recognized what *noblesse oblige* meant. He knew that the parliamentary army was made up (as he said) of "old decayed serving-men, and tapsters and such kind of fellows;" he saw that "the spirits of such base, mean fellows" could not encounter "gentlemen's sons, younger sons and persons of quality;" he must have "men of a spirit, of a spirit that is likely to go as far as gentlemen will go," men imbued with a motive; and he "raised such men as had the fear of God before them, and made some conscience of what they did." And "from that day forward, they were never beaten." Their *noblesse* was the fear of God.

We English peoples are wont to ascribe all this to Cromwell's own invention. He himself would not have done so. It is an ill compliment to Oliver Cromwell's intelligence to say that with the Thirty Years' War drawing to a close, with confessedly numerous Englishmen and Scotchmen under his standard who had served with the Swedes, he should not have known what Gustavus Adolphus had begun to do twenty,

had completed ten, years before; how he had transformed his poor Swedish peasant louts into invincible soldiers, who could beat the emperor's chivalry with no other talisman than the Bible. Cromwell, says Baxter, "had especial care to get religious men into his troop; these men were of greater understanding than common soldiers, and made not money but that which they took for the public felicity to be their end."

The minutiae of drill Cromwell early learned from Captain (or Colonel) John Dalbier, a Dutch veteran, who had seen



Cromwell.

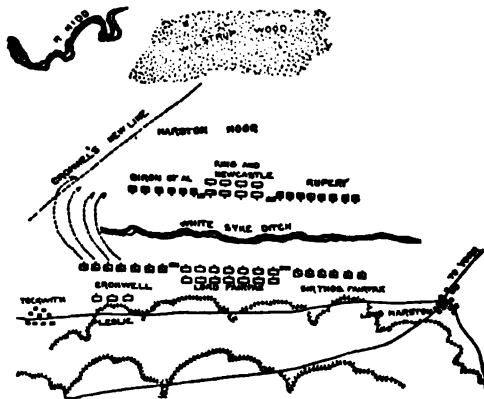
service on the continent; but he made his own rules of discipline, and so well conducted were his men that "the countries where they came leaped for joy of them." It was he who, following Gustavus, created in England the nucleus of what was really a body of regular troops.

In May, 1643, he won his first independent fight near

Grantham; and though twice outnumbered, his horse rode through the enemy without a check. It was a notable lesson to see plain countrymen ride down cavaliers who were two to one of them; it rings in one's ears like the story of the Swiss pike or the English long-bow. In July Cromwell again met the enemy near Gainsborough, where, in hand to hand work with the pistol and naked blade, he drove them off and sharply pursued them; but unable to meet the larger body of royal infantry, he cleverly covered the retreat. Attention was attracted to him. In August Cromwell became second to the earl of Manchester, who commanded ten thousand

foot; and in October—in a combat in which he was unhorsed and narrowly escaped with his life—he again defeated a large force of cavalry at Winceby. His career of victory had begun, and his activity was unceasing. His men had won a reputation. “As for Colonel Cromwell, he hath two thousand brave men, well disciplined; and no man swears but he pays his twelvepence; if he be drunk he is set in the stocks or worse: if one calls the other Roundhead, he is cashiered.”

In 1644 the parliamentary forces began to gain ground, especially as the Scotch sustained them with twenty thousand men; and near York, at Marston Moor, on July 2, the combined army of over twenty-five thousand men met a royalist force of somewhat less strength.



Marston Moor.

The Roundheads were retiring from York, with Rupert on their trail. They drew up to meet the fiery royalist on a slight slope behind the White Syke Ditch, between Long Marston and Tockwith. Rupert marshaled his army facing them, on the moor, with Wilstrup wood in his rear. It took some hours to put the men in line. In the parliamentary army Cromwell commanded the left wing, of horse, with Leslie in reserve. He had some four thousand men; and on this field he was to earn the sobriquet of Ironsides for him-

self and his God-fearing yeomen. The Scotch, nine thousand strong, in two long lines, held the centre, under Lord Fairfax. The cavalry of the right was led by Sir Thomas Fairfax. The artillery was on either flank of the centre.

Facing this array, Rupert drew up the foot, under Newcastle and King. The left, of horse, he commanded in person. The right was equally of horse. The artillery was near the foot, and there were good reserves.

It was seven in the evening before an attack was made. Battle was thought to be deferred to the morrow. But an attack was precipitated by the parliamentary foot, a part of which pushed through the ditch, and got roughly handled by the royal artillery. The right under Fairfax followed on, but the bad ground somewhat unsettled the line, and, met half way by the hot charge of Rupert, it was broken, and Rupert could turn inward on the infantry centre. When Cromwell, on the left, saw the difficulty which the centre had in passing the ditch, he obliques his wing to the left, so as to clear this treacherous obstacle, and, outflanking the royal right wing, went thundering down upon the moor. Though slightly wounded in the neck, he paused not in his advance. Striking terror into the royalist ranks as he rode on, "God made them as stubble to our swords," he said. Rupert's right was utterly routed, and the centre of foot began to feel that initial success was not a presage of victory. Only Newcastle's White Coats arrested his advance.

Cromwell's charge was not what we call a charge to-day; it was an advance, with an occasional pause to fire and load; but it had a concentrated energy in it which even Rupert's mad gallop could not equal.

The right of each army had been destroyed. The centre of each was in perilous case. On whose banners would victory perch?

Rupert's success had unsettled his squadrons ; Cromwell's were in perfect order. Returning from pursuit, the royalist found the commoner drawn up on the moor, astride his own late line of battle, ready to test one more struggle ; while Fairfax had collected part of his men on the edge of Wilstrup wood to prolong his line. Before he could re-form, Cromwell was upon him. There was no resisting the Ironsides ; Rupert and his men took to flight.

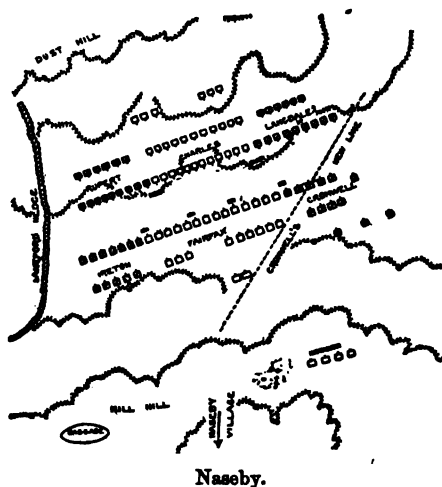
Four thousand men bit the dust on this field. Marston Moor won the north of England for the parliament.

Cromwell was becoming the leading soldier of England.

The successes in the north were offset by corresponding losses in the south of England, and there was need of the Self-Denying Ordinance, under which members of parliament who cumbered the army must resign their commands. The passage of this measure, which was Cromwell's work, removed much useless material from the army, and made room for the New Model reorganization, which was equally his. The three armies of about ten thousand men each were, during the winter of 1644-45, consolidated into a regular body of twenty-two thousand men, and placed under Sir Thomas Fairfax ; but Cromwell was the moving spirit. His cavalry body, like our volunteers in 1864 and 1865, had long been a regular corps, and it now gave the leaven to the whole lump. The fact that this new army was also the nucleus of the Commonwealth towards which England was tending has here no especial interest for us ; as an army it was a notable institution. The New Model was voted in February, 1645. There were to be fourteen thousand four hundred foot, six thousand six hundred horse, and one thousand dragoons ; and the whole body underwent a thorough drill and discipline. The effect was apparent as soon as it met the enemy.

In June, 1645, Fairfax lay near Naseby awaiting Crom-

well, whom he had specially desired to come and command the cavalry, and for whom the Self-Denying Ordinance had been suspended. His arrival was the sign for battle. On June 14, at early dawn, Fairfax drew up opposite the king with fourteen thousand men; the foot in the centre, the cavalry under Cromwell, who chose to place Ireton with five regiments and the dragoons on the left, while he retained the right with six regiments, — some thirty-six hundred men.



The royal army was considerably less in numbers, and on its right stood Rupert, opposite Ireton; on its left Langdale; and in the centre the king. The composition of both forces was better than at Marston Moor; in the royal army were said to be fifteen hundred officers who had seen service, and the

parliamentary army was well drilled and disciplined. The royalists had an admirable position on Dust Hill; the Roundheads one near Naseby. Lantford Hedge had been lined with parliamentary dragoons.

The royalists opened the action by an advance. They would have been wise not to leave their vantage-ground so soon. On his side Cromwell, with "God our strength!" as a watch-cry, met this onset by a counter charge with his entire wing. The several columns of horse rode at the enemy with perfect confidence in their cause and in their chief, and

“not one body of the enemy’s horse which they charged but they routed.” There was no question of the victory here.

Not so on the left. Rupert had ridden up Mill Hill at the head of the royal squadrons, had charged home, and Ireton, stanch as he was, could not stand the impact. The charge here was, as at Marston, probably at a trot. It was up an incline, and Ireton advanced to meet him, halting to fire. Rupert no doubt equally halted; and only after each rank had successively fired was the charge resumed. Real charges were not known in England at that day,—they were rare on the continent. Twice wounded, Ireton was captured, and the elated royalists pursued this routed wing almost to Naseby, and began to make for the parliamentary train. In the centre Fairfax’s foot was at first driven in on the reserves by Charles’ rapid charge; but they rallied, and once more made good countenance to the foe. At the same moment Cromwell, having dispersed the royal left wing of horse, wheeled inward on the royal centre, taking it in flank and rear, and, leaving but one *tertia* standing, drove the rest headlong from the field. This gallant *tertia*, like the White Coats at Marston Moor, held themselves until Fairfax’s own regiment of foot went at them with clubbed muskets; then with Cromwell’s sabres they were hewn in pieces. Charles had behaved with conspicuous gallantry.

Rupert and Cromwell had done equal work; but Cromwell had held his men in hand, as Rupert had not. A cavalry officer needs discretion as much as dash; and certainly it is harder to teach troopers to obey the “Recall” than it is to follow the “Charge.” This virtue in Cromwell now bore fruit. Rupert’s men, returning from the pursuit of Ireton, had they been in hand, and had Cromwell, in excess of ardor, met them in cavalry combat alone, were quite capable of retrieving the day. But Rupert was fiery; Cromwell was

wary and fiery both. Like Gustavus he knew when to be prudent. Instead of trusting to his Ironsides alone, he and Fairfax drew up the foot, the guns and the horse in an irreproachable new line, and when Charles and Rupert, who still hoped for a chance of mending the day, saw the solid array in their front, they gave up the contest and retired in confusion, chased nearly all the way to Leicester.

The royal loss was heavy, but the killed were never known. There were five thousand prisoners, all the guns, standards and baggage, and best of all the king's private papers,—which sealed his political fate. His army was annihilated; he never collected another.

The likeness of Naseby to Marston Moor is marked; and it was Cromwell who won both battles.

For a year following Naseby, Cromwell and Fairfax were engaged in crushing the royalists in the south of England. In all there were some sixty small sieges, combats and storms, ending with the capture by assault of Bristol, September 10 and 11, where Rupert was extinguished; and of Basing House, October 14.

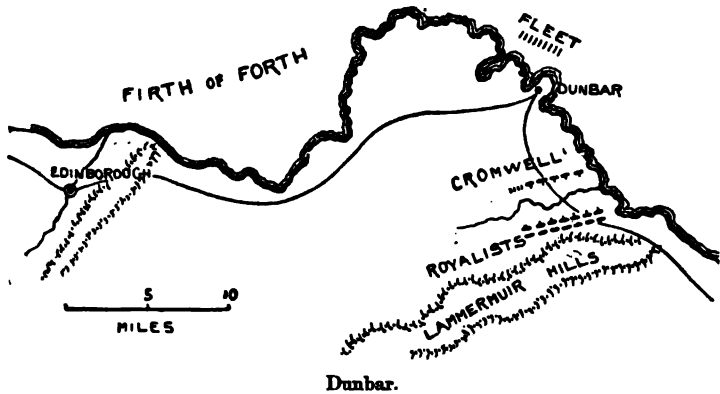
In August, 1647, the army asserted its right to dictate to the parliament. In April, 1648, the second civil war broke out, coupled with the invasion of the Scotch. Cromwell first subdued the rising in Wales, and then turned to Scotland. In August he fought the battle of Preston Pans, in Yorkshire, the first in which he was in chief command. The enemy, twenty-four thousand strong, was marching south in a long, straggling column, without any pretense to tactical skill, and without scouting the country. Cromwell fell on them with his nine thousand men, broke their column in two, and for three days (17th to 20th) pursued them some thirty miles, cutting them down right and left and fighting them when they would stand. It was not a battle, but rather a

running pursuit; the loss of the Scotch and northern-country men was enormous; Cromwell's was trivial. This stroke ended the second civil war.

Ireland had embraced the cause of Charles II.; Scotland had proclaimed him king. To preserve the union, Scotland had to be conquered, Ireland subdued; and to Cromwell's lot fell Ireland. He landed in Dublin in May, 1649, with nine thousand men, which he shortly increased to fifteen thousand. With ten thousand men he first advanced on Drogheda, just north of Dublin. The enemy had a garrison three thousand strong in this well-walled town. On September 3 Cromwell reached the place, but not until the 10th did the batteries open. This was slow work, but when begun, the rest was sharply done. A formal demand of surrender was refused. On the 12th the place was stormed. The first assault was driven back; Cromwell headed the second, pushed in and annihilated the garrison, losing less than one hundred men. In a military sense the work was good; and in the history of the Thirty Years' War a soldier finds an answer to the charge of barbarity which will suffice for that era, if not for our days. "I forbade them to spare any that were in arms in the town," explains Cromwell's rule, and war is not a gentle art. From a religious standpoint, as the "rooting out of Papists," it is not our province to examine the act. The similar siege and destruction of Wexford (south of Dublin) followed, with the cutting down of two thousand men and a loss of twenty Cromwellians. No doubt many non-combatants, presumably some women, perished; but this was an unfortunate incident of the capture. During the winter Cromwell overran the land. At Clonmel he lost heavily in storming the town; elsewhere his losses were curiously small. These lessons sufficed. Though the revolution in Ireland lasted three years more, there was little of it.

No doubt both these so-called massacres are in a sense as inexcusable as that of Magdeburg, where forty thousand souls were cut off in one day; but there was in neither the same treachery. The rule was plain: "Refusing conditions seasonably offered, all were put to the sword." It was the way of the era, to free the world from which Gustavus had done so much. The fact that priests were not spared by Cromwell speaks less for the Briton than the leniency of Gustavus does for the Swede.

It was after this campaign that so many, it is said forty



thousand, Irishmen passed as professional soldiers to the continent.

As a mere soldier Cromwell had done well in Ireland, and with no great means; as man and soldier, he would have done better to heed the lessons of Gustavus. His conduct was the very essence of narrow Puritanism. But he had intentionally cut down none but men in arms.

Fairfax resigned; Cromwell retired to England, and was made captain-general; and in July he crossed the Scotch border with sixteen thousand men. Leslie was in command of the Scotch army, some twenty-two thousand strong, and

sought to tire out Cromwell by a Fabian policy. This all but succeeded, and, worn by wet and hunger, the English army retired to Dunbar, to be near the fleet. The city was on a sort of peninsula, a mile and a half wide, and the only road to it ran over hills otherwise inaccessible. As they approached Dunbar, Leslie followed and held the road. He had trapped Cromwell; and drawing up along the Lammermuir hills, he cut him off from the only road to England. Cromwell's "poor, scattered, hungry, discouraged army" of eleven thousand men was in sad case, with twice their number of well-provisioned Scots in their front. Had Leslie kept to his Fabian strategy, it might have gone hard with Cromwell. But fearing that the English might embark and escape him, he pushed out his right wing to the coast, hoping to surround and cut them to pieces in the operation.

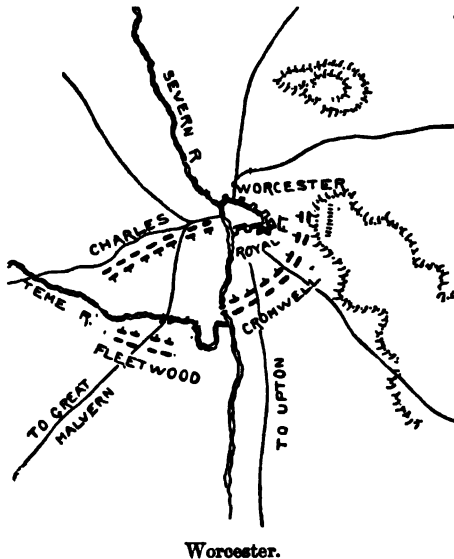
Leslie's left lay on the hills, with an impassable ravine in its front, but the brook which ran through the ravine to the sea broadened out lower down so as to be easily fordable. Cromwell was not slow to see the lapse, and to grasp its possibilities; he made his plans accordingly. On September 3, 1650, before daylight, he got his men under arms, put his guns in a position to keep up a heavy fire on, and thus prevent Leslie's left from deploying, and marshaled his army to attack his right in force. By 6 A. M. Cromwell advanced; the artillery fire sufficed to prevent the Scotch left from forming line and crossing the ravine in their front, and thus covered the disgarnishing of his own right; and meanwhile Cromwell fell lustily upon Leslie's right wing. Bar an initial check which was quickly repaired, the onset met with entire success. Cromwell sent a column around by the sea to take the Scotch line in flank, and within an hour the enemy was fully routed. The right flank was crushed, and when the left finally came to its support, it was but to be ridden

down by its own flying squadrons, and to partake of their demoralization. The whole Scotch army fled in dismay. The victory was completed while singing "O praise the Lord, all ye nations."

There were three thousand Scotch slain, ten thousand taken, with all the baggage and material. Of the English only two officers and twenty men had fallen. It had been

discipline which had won over numbers, and undoubted courage. The battle leads one to overlook the faults in strategy preceding it. Edinburgh and Glasgow surrendered.

Next year, after some operations in Scotland, Charles II. made a bold dash for England. Nothing abashed, Cromwell followed



him. Charles found little of the support he anticipated, and reached Worcester with not over fifteen thousand men, while at the end of August Cromwell arrived with thirty thousand.

Charles took up a position in the angle made by the Teme as it runs into the Severn. Just above, on the left bank of the Severn, lay Worcester, well fortified, with the Royal Fort on the southeast corner, and a bridge across the river; and Charles also held in force the bridge over the Teme and the road leading to the Malvern Hills. The Severn bridge lower

down, at Upton, he destroyed. His Worcester bridge enabled him to cross quickly to and fro, and here he prepared to play his last card, expecting that Cromwell would assault from the north.

With his excess of troops Cromwell could safely divide his forces, having in this a manifest advantage. He closed in the town, set up his batteries on the hill on the east of the river, and cannonaded it for nearly a week, waiting for his lucky day, the 3d of September, but meanwhile drawing his lines in more and more. He had sent Fleetwood down the Severn to cross and hold the enemy to the Teme.

On the day set Fleetwood attacked the Teme bridge, and under cover of this attack two bridges were thrown, one across the Severn and one across the Teme, close together, thus taking Charles' triangle in reverse, and obliging him to withdraw into Worcester, which he did in the afternoon. From here he broke out on Cromwell's force on the left bank, and for a moment gained success; but the bridges enabled Cromwell to reinforce this wing in season to prevent disaster; and the royalists were forced within walls, after a hearty struggle. The Royal Fort was taken by storm, and by eight in the evening the city gates were captured. The rest was mere massacre; three thousand Scotch were killed, ten thousand taken. Cromwell lost two hundred men.

The tactics of this battle was admirable. It was a fit closing to Cromwell's military career, which had lasted from his forty-third to his fifty-second year.

Judged by success, Cromwell was a greater soldier than if gauged by the rules of the art. He was not a skillful strategist; in tactics, within a certain limit, he was admirable. Following immediately in the steps of the great continental captain, he organized and disciplined a wonderful army, which none of the less well-drilled royalists could ever

resist. The forces he opposed never stood his blows long ; and judged by opposition, he does not stand high. His losses in storming strong places, except at Clonmel, were always small, testifying to poor defense. At Preston Pans he lost fifty men ; at Dunbar twenty-two ; at Worcester two hundred. While mere losses do not necessarily measure the general, they must still be considered in the light of what he had to oppose him.

That Cromwell was one of the great men of history is undeniable ; that for England he wrought as almost no other of its rulers ever did is but a truism ; that, tried by the highest standard, he may be called a great general is less certain. He was what some other truly great men (Washington, for instance) have been, eminent in arms ; but that he deserves to rank with the great captains no capable critic familiar with their history has ever pretended ; that he may rank with the second class — with Turenne, Marlborough, Eugene and their fellows — can scarcely be allowed. That he did such splendid work for England came from his exceptional equipment of character and intelligence.

He was a worthy follower and, like all the rest of Europe, an imitator of Gustavus Adolphus.



Pistol Sword. (16th Century.)

XXXIV.

TURENNE. 1634 TO AUGUST, 1644.

THREE sets of great soldiers exist in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: those grouped about Gustavus, about Condé and Turenne, and about Eugene and Marlborough. It was they who created the modern art of war, and by narrating their deeds we are writing its history. We have dealt with the first set, and now come to the second. After the death of Gustavus, the Swedish generals whom he had trained — Bernard, Banér, Torstenson — in connection with France conducted brilliant campaigns over all Germany; but, lacking the solid method of their great chief, their work had no result. In 1646 the last of these generals, Wrangel, operated successfully with Turenne. Born in 1611, Turenne first saw service in Holland with his uncle, the prince of Orange, proved himself gallant and intelligent, and rapidly rose in his profession, under successive commanders on the Rhine and in Italy. His first independent campaign as field-marshal, in 1644, opened with a successful raid across the Rhine and towards the upper Danube; this was followed by a march on Freiburg, which was blockaded by the Bavarian Mercy. Turenne attempted to relieve it, but his army, which had been given over to him in the worst order, proved weak, and his operation failed. Condé was sent to his aid.

IN the military era to which Gustavus Adolphus by right of eminence and priority gives the title, there are three periods into which our subject-matter may conveniently be divided. The first includes those generals who were grouped about Gustavus, and the events in which they enacted their brilliant parts. The second includes those generals who were on the stage when Turenne conducted his campaigns in the Thirty Years' War, the War with Spain, and the Wars in the Netherlands. The third period includes the generals who acted with or against Prince Eugene and Marlborough in the War of the Spanish Succession. By narrating the military life of Gus-

tavus, we have already covered the first period. We can best make clear the second and third periods not by an attempt to narrate all the war history of their times, but by keeping more or less closely to the masterly campaigns of Turenne, Prince Eugene and Marlborough themselves; to the skillful work of Condé, Vendôme, Villars and Montecuculi; to the campaigns of Luxemburg and Catinat; for it was the novel and useful elements in what they did which so distinctly enriched the art of war, and which prepared the way for that greater teacher, Frederick, king of Prussia. If we depart from the course thus prescribed by this History of the Art of War, it will be but to notice such a splendid event as the defense of Vienna by John Sobieski, or such an erratic genius as Charles XII.

In this design, space limits us to the narration of a portion only of the campaigns of these able captains. Part must be omitted; another part can be sketched with but few strokes; to still other parts more time will be allotted; and from the ground thus covered we shall conceive a fairly good idea of what was done by them towards developing the art of which they were past masters.

From 1635 to the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, the Thirty Years' War was in what is called the French, or the Swedish-French phase. Because of Gustavus' death, or of the defection of Saxony, Brandenburg and other late Protestant allies, the Swedes were none the less intent on carrying out the purpose bequeathed to them by their great monarch, though indeed Sweden was compelled to fight if she would preserve her "bastion" on the Baltic. France would make no peace on terms acceptable to the empire, and so the war went on. The north German potentates were to an extent eliminated from the problem, and the theatre of war was somewhat changed even as the ideal of the war was modified, but Riche-

lieu and Oxenstiern never wavered. By the battle of Nördlingen Bernard had forfeited his duchy of Franconia, and he was glad to serve under the ægis of France, with the hope of carving for himself a new duchy out of Alsatia. On his death in 1639 the French retained his army.

After the battle of Nördlingen, the operations of the Protestant allies had been mainly in two bodies. The Swedes under Banér, based on Gustavus' bastion, had manœuvred toward Saxony and Bohemia, while the army of Bernard, properly a part of the Swedish forces, but entertained by France, had operated on the Rhine, in Alsatia and Swabia, sometimes in connection with the French armies, sometimes alone.

In 1638 Bernard crossed the Rhine above Basle, captured many towns in Swabia, besieged Breisach and beat off several imperial armies of relief. His other campaigns were rather weak.

The operations of Banér from 1636 to 1641 showed great energy; but his boldness was misplaced, and despite many fine forays into Saxony and Bohemia, and even as far as Ratisbon, he was invariably forced back to Pomerania by the larger imperial armies and their allies. No victories, and he won some splendid ones, as at Wittstock, secured him a foothold beyond the bastion, which Wrangel meanwhile defended. In 1641 Banér died and Torstenson assumed command.

Extending over the entire territory from Denmark to Vienna, the latter's manœuvres were in a high degree bold and brilliant; but they were quite without result. In 1642 he won a victory at Leipsic; again in 1644 at Juterbok, and in 1645 at Jankowitz, over the imperial troops; but though much which is admirable characterized his work; though he markedly aided the operations of the French, his campaigns cannot be pronounced successful. Like that of the others,

his work lacked the solidity shown by his king and teacher. As a lieutenant, especially as an artillerist, he had been beyond criticism.

This want of permanent success by the generals he had brought up, and who had no superiors at the time, emphasizes the value of Gustavus' own careful method. His lieutenants covered the same ground which he had won; they marched as far; they won victories apparently as splendid; they had opponents less able than Tilly, or Wallenstein, or Pappenheim; and yet the result of all they did was naught, or at

best they merely kept the ball in play until exhaustion put an end to the long drawn out match of nations.



Turenne.

In 1646 Field - Marshal Wrangel, the last of Gustavus' lieutenants, commanded the Swedish army, and worked in connection with Turenne. Inspired by the great Frenchman, their joint campaigns were quite out of the ordinary.

Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, Viscount of Turenne, was born in 1611 in Sedan, son of the Duke of Bouillon and Elizabeth, daughter of William of Orange. He was a sickly youth, and up to his twelfth year gave no promise of ability. But his father, who superintended his education, roused the lad's latent ambition, and he finally excelled in his studies. He was educated a Protestant. Like Gustavus Adolphus, he was fond of reading the heroic deeds of Alexander the Great in Quintus Curtius, and from these romantic pages he imbibed his early love of war, then as always the noblest of professions, but then

more highly considered, as it was more essential, than it is to-day.

When twelve years old, his father died, his elder brother inherited the title, and Henri was sent to his uncle, Prince Maurice of Orange. But soon this guardian also died; and that Henri was thrown on his own resources contributed much to develop his extraordinary character. Entering the Dutch service as a private in 1625, he rose within a year to a captaincy, and, especially by distinguished conduct at Herzogenbusch in 1629, earned the respect and approbation of Prince Maurice, who then said of him that he would become a great leader. When nineteen, he entered the French service as colonel, and in command of his regiment, at the siege of La Motte, in 1634, he so approved himself for bravery that he was promoted on the spot to be *maréchal de camp*. The next year he served under Cardinal La Vallette, who went to the aid of the Swedes and, in connection with Duke Bernard, relieved Mainz. On the retreat of the army Turenne was noted for his untiring activity and his intelligence in procuring rations. In 1636 La Vallette made special request for Turenne's services, and at the siege of Zabern, while Bernard, after two failures, captured the upper town, Turenne stormed and took the lower town and citadel, doing wonders of courage and receiving a serious wound. Towards the end of the campaign he forced Gallas from Franche Comté in a rapid, dashing style, defeating his veteran opponent near Jussey, following him up and taking many prisoners. When later Gallas endeavored to raise the siege which Bernard was conducting against Joinville, Turenne intercepted and drove him back across the Rhine.

In 1637 Turenne took part in La Vallette's campaign in Picardy, and during the rainy season at Landrecies, when the trenches were constantly full of water, was again prominent

in rationing the troops, working incessantly himself and enduring privation cheerfully. This solicitude for the welfare of his men was a trait which distinguished Turenne all through life. Demanding much of the soldiers, he devoted all his efforts to their good ; he was singularly careful of their health, — sometimes to his own strategic loss ; and he never for a moment thought of self. His men were devoted to him.

At the age of twenty-six, for the capture of the castle of Solre in the Hennegau, and the heroic defense of the fortified camp at Maubeuge, Turenne was given his step as lieutenant-general, and as such in 1638 led reinforcements to Bernard at the siege of Breisach. During the eight months of this siege, he fought in three combats and three general engagements ; and a long attack of intermittent fever did not abate his energy. Finally, he stormed and captured an isolated fort which was a key-point of the investment, and the fortress of Breisach surrendered.

Sent to Lombardy in the spring of 1639, to serve in the army of Count Harcourt, Turenne covered the siege of Chieri, and fought successfully at La Route. Next year he pursued the enemy, after the siege of Casale, and captured many trophies and all his train. Hereupon he induced Harcourt to invest Turin, where Prince Thomas of Savoy was in command, while the citadel was held by a French garrison. Singularly, General Lleganes now came up and blockaded Harcourt. Thus the French force in the citadel was besieged by the prince of Savoy, he by Harcourt, and the latter by Lleganes, — a quite unparalleled situation. Lleganes was driven off ; Turenne, though again wounded, victualled Harcourt by bringing a large convoy safely from Pignerol ; and shortly thereupon Turin surrendered. Harcourt was called to Paris, and during his absence, Turenne captured Moncalvo and besieged Ivrea, which surrendered to Harcourt on his

return. Prince Thomas now entered the French service ; Turenne was appointed to the command, under him, of the army in Italy ; and recognizing the remarkable qualities of the young general, the prince intrusted him with the main direction. To induce the Spaniards to evacuate Piedmont, Turenne made apparent arrangements to transfer operations to the duchy of Milan, and laid siege to Alexandria, which he blockaded, so disposing his troops as purposely to leave a gap in his lines. Through this gap the Spanish general, at the head of almost the entire garrison of the fortress of Trino, essayed to relieve Alexandria. Allowing this to take place, Turenne sharply turned on Trino and captured it, for which skillful feat of arms he was made field-marshal, and here, after seventeen years' active apprenticeship, ended his services under other generals.

Turenne had learned his trade, was well equipped for a leader, and understood how to distinguish the true from the false in military situations. In his memoirs he has said that he owed certain qualities to those under whom he served. From the prince of Orange he had learned how to choose positions, the besieger's art, and especially how to draw up plans, to maturely consider them, and then to alter nothing so long as it was possible to carry them out. From Bernard he had learned not to be blinded by success nor cast down by failure ; neither to blame himself nor to forgive his own errors, but to correct these and strive to change ill fortune. From La Vallette he had learned the importance of keeping in touch with his soldiers in the field. From Harcourt he had learned that mature consideration of the problem, followed by unceasing activity and rapid decision, were the surest elements of success in war.

We know more of the detail of Turenne's campaigns than we do of those of Gustavus, — indeed, we have the memoirs

of the French marshal, — and there is a marked difference in the manner in which they wrought. In narrating the work of the king we are dealing with immense issues, — issues on which the whole civilized world depended for its future progress and welfare; in narrating that of Turenne we deal with the operations of bodies which occupied a position of less prominence on the theatre of war, and form a less important page in history. But Turenne, though deprived of the opportunity of working on so broad a field, was yet a soldier with few rivals; and many of his lesser operations deserve the closest study. War is wont to depend as much on smaller work well done as on the labors of the giants; and to few generals is it allotted to expend their efforts on the broadest fields. Like Stonewall Jackson or Sheridan in our own civil war, Turenne, in his early campaigns, was not in command of large-sized armies; nor indeed was he often allowed that complete independence of action which breeds the highest results; but whether in command of an army corps or in command of an army, he was always solid, original and brilliant. No better pattern exists in military annals; no captain has done more uniformly excellent work. If we were to select the material we possess of any one soldier's campaigns from which to study all the operations of war, from the minor to the grand, it is perhaps to those of Turenne we might best turn. It must be, moreover, borne in mind that he was the first great soldier to succeed Gustavus, and that as such he was called on to create much of what he did. Turenne is one of the most sagacious, profound of our teachers.

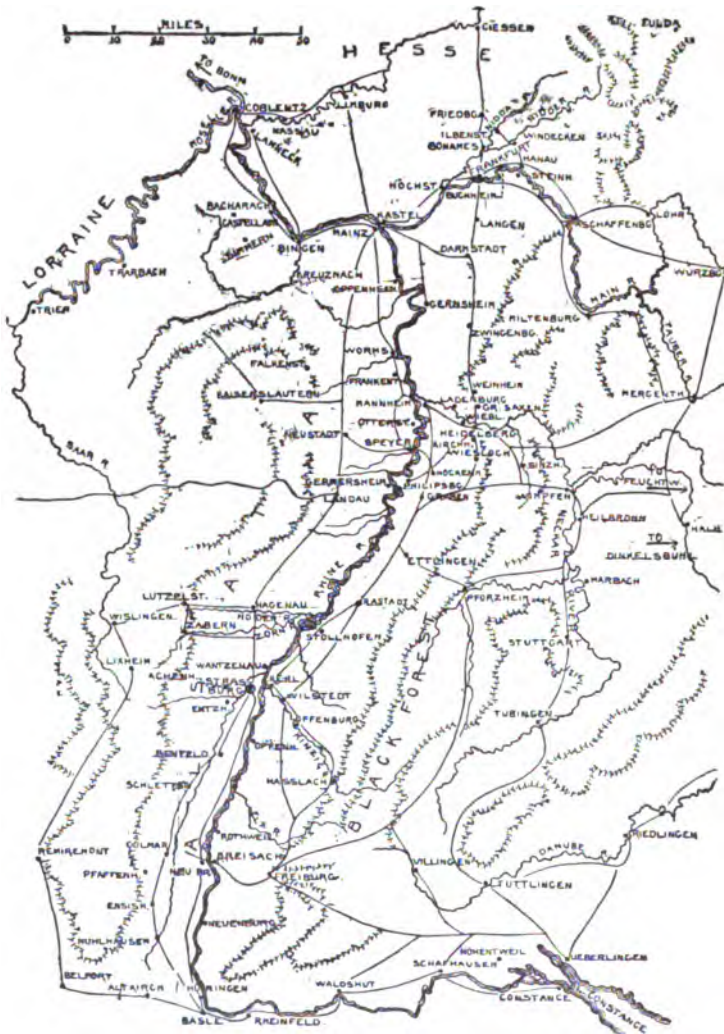
As an independent commander, Turenne began his campaigns towards the close of the Thirty Years' War, 1644 to 1648. His first army, as field-marshal, was given over to him in the worst possible condition. It was the army of the upper Rhine, which had been beaten at Tuttlingen, had lost

the bulk of its officers, six or seven thousand prisoners, together with all its artillery and baggage; and had made its way, with difficulty and in utter disorder, back to Alsatia. This force, as a mark of confidence, was intrusted by Cardinal Mazarin to Turenne for the purpose of reorganization; but it was a sad compliment to pay him. Had he not already won a name for exceptional ability, he would scarce have been awarded so onerous a duty.

In December, 1643, though not long back from the siege of Trino, and still invalided, Turenne undertook his thankless task, and joined the army at Colmar; and because Alsatia had been devastated in January, he went into his winter-quarters in the mountains of Lorraine, and began his labor by salutary and sensible methods. The French government was illiberal in moneys, and Turenne was compelled to largely use his own capital and credit, which happily were excellent. His cavalry became good, but though his infantry could not be put on an equal footing, in four months he was able to take the field.

It will be noted, in all the wars of the period upon which we are now entering, that the cavalry was the principal arm, almost always equal, often superior, in numbers to the infantry, and thus, in the line of battle or in other operations, occupying a space and a position unduly prominent. It was a final flickering up again of the mediæval idea of the superior efficiency of mounted men, which Gustavus had proved to be erroneous, and to which Frederick, with the wonderful battalions drilled by his father, gave the death-blow at Mollwitz.

The enemy had lain quietly in winter-quarters, doing nothing except to besiege Ueberlingen, which fell in May. Early in the same month Turenne assembled his army in Alsatia, and, crossing the Rhine near Breisach with a part of



The Rhine Country.

his troops, marched toward the sources of the Danube. Hearing in the hills of the Black Forest of a body of two thousand raiding Bavarian horse, he hunted it up; and attacking

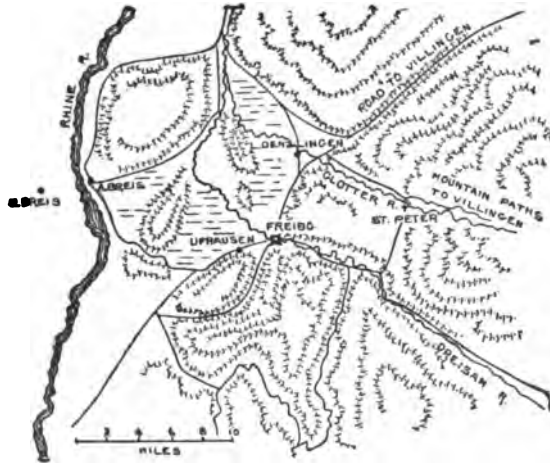
it smartly, beat it and captured many officers and four hundred men. The rest retired on the Bavarian army, which had captured Hohentwiel. This little foray instructed and heightened the spirits of the French army; which then returned to Lorraine, and enabled Turenne to gauge its quality.

The enemy had rested in good winter-quarters, and by enlisting a number of the French prisoners taken at Tuttlingen, had materially increased their strength. In the month of July Freiburg in the Breisgau was blockaded by the Bavarian field-marshal, Mercy, who had marched on the place through the Black Forest. The garrison had been increased to eight hundred men, which then was beyond the usual size. Artillery at that time was not powerful, and the belief in works was greater, — or rather the disinclination to attack them was so. In the siege of a place, the inhabitants were apt to serve on the walls as well as the garrison; and many defenses of towns in which even big breaches had been made were long and gallant in the extreme. The smallness of the garrisons of important places, and the stanch resistance of which they were capable, strike us to-day with wonder.

Freiburg lies at the foot of the mountains of that rugged section of country known as the Black Forest, at a place where they inclose the alluvial plain of the Rhine in the form of a crescent. This inclosed level has high and inaccessible rocks on the right as you come from Breisach, and at that day had a wooded swamp on the left; it was approachable from the Rhine by only a single road through a defile which ran several miles between the hills, and might be easily defended.

Turenne had a short five thousand foot and the same number of horse, with twenty guns. He again crossed the Rhine at Breisach, and moved on Freiburg, hoping to surprise

Mercy and to raise the blockade. The enemy had sent out a large foraging party, and did not learn of the approach of the French until the latter came within six miles of them, when, recalling his foragers, Mercy prepared for action. Turenne reconnoitred the enemy's position, and sought to occupy a hill near Ufhausen which commanded it; but the infantry sent forward proved inefficient, and, owing to the cowardice of two color-bearers, got panic-stricken and fell back in disorder from the hill, which at the moment was held



Freiburg.

by only a picket of twenty men. The enemy at once reinforced the picket, but did not follow the French. Turenne remained on the field some time, during which a cavalry combat fell out to his advantage; but his plan of a surprise having failed, the dominant force of the enemy induced him to retire after these slight engagements, and Freiburg surrendered to Mercy, being, however, allowed the honors of war.

This failure was perhaps less the fault of Turenne than of the miserable condition of his troops, especially the infantry.

And yet this same infantry, as we shall see, shortly after stood decimation under which even veterans might have quailed. Napoleon casts a slur at Turenne for this operation, which was, indeed, rather pitiable, and suggests that he should have taken up a strong position and gone into camp, so as to annoy the enemy. But Turenne probably saw after the panic that he could not count on his foot to serve him well at this juncture, and preferred to harden it by minor manœuvres before encountering larger forces. Merely to sit down opposite an enemy he could not attack was of no utility. The news of the backset having reached Versailles, he was, moreover, ordered by the court to suspend operations until he could be reinforced by the duke of Enghien, — later the Great Condé, — who had leaped into fame by the victory of Rocroy, and despite his youth was deemed able to accomplish all things.



French Halberdiers.
(15th Century.)

XXXV.

CONDÉ AT ROCROY. MAY 19, 1643.

BORN in 1621, Condé distinguished himself in his nineteenth year at the siege of Arras, and his royal connections rapidly advanced him. In 1643, in command of the northern frontier of France, he advanced to Rocroy, besieged by the Spaniards under Marshal Melos, and attacked the enemy despite marked difficulties. With his right wing of cavalry he destroyed the Spanish left, and turned in on the infantry centre under Fuentes. The Spanish right having meanwhile broken up the French left, Condé rode with his cavalry column completely around the Spanish army, and took the successful enemy in the rear. He thus dispersed both cavalry wings of the Spaniards. But the centre of foot resisted so stanchly that the victory was dearly bought and at grave risk. As the work of a young commander, this was a doubly famous victory; and it at once made Condé the national hero.

LOUIS of Bourbon, duke of Enghien, and, on his father's death, prince of Condé, was born September 8, 1621. He



Condé at Rocroy.

was early, and all through life, noted for diligent application to literature and arts, and ranked as a man of fine culture and broad ability. He distinguished himself in war as early as his nineteenth year, at the siege of Arras; and two years later, in the campaign of Roussillon, won commendation for skill and bravery. His royal connections yielded him exceptional opportunities, and in 1643 he was given charge

of the defense of the northern frontier of France.

The preceding campaign here had been disastrous ; a French army had been destroyed at Honnecourt, and Field-Marshal Melos, governor-general of the Low Countries, who stood at the head of a splendid army of twenty-seven thousand men, already imagined Picardy and Champagne to lie at his feet. Condé, as we will continue to call him, though he remained duke of Enghien until 1646, was able to concentrate forces amounting to twenty-three thousand men, — of which seven thousand were horse, — and had under him Marshals de l'Hopital and Gassion. The former had been placed at his side to check any possible excess of youthful ardor, a thing which he was, however, unable to do.

Melos had opened his trenches before Rocroy. The town lay in a plain then covered with woods and marshes, — it is to-day full of forests, — and was approachable only through long and narrow paths, except from the Champagne side, where the woods were less extensive. In a military sense it was unapproachable. Melos had occupied all the avenues, and had bodies of scouts patrolling the country on every side. Condé had a strong instinct for battle. He felt that to destroy the enemy was the way to secure the safety of France ; he determined to relieve Rocroy, even at the risk of fighting ; and in order to reach the three or four miles wide plain near the city, where alone there was room to manœuvre, at the head of a body of cavalry, suitably sustained by foot, he forced his way through the woods early on May 18, took possession of a height at the outlet to cover his columns, and successfully debouched into the open. Melos did not oppose his passage because he himself desired battle, was not averse to winning a victory when the enemy had no chance of retreat, and believed the French army to be much smaller than it actually was. He was well seconded by Field-Marshal Fuentes, a veteran of experience and proven courage.

he could beat the unseasoned French troops of his young and inexperienced opponent, drew up his army, but with the sensible belief that on the day of battle you should have in line every available man, he sent word to General Beck, who lay a day's march to the rear, to come up rapidly with his six thousand men. Melos' line occupied a height facing that on which Condé had marshaled his army. The duke of Albuquerque commanded the left, and he himself the right. Count Fuentes, whom many years of war had crippled so that he could not ride, like Wallenstein at Lützen, led the famous Spanish infantry from a litter.

To marshal an army was, in the seventeenth century, an affair of time; and it was six o'clock in the evening before the rival generals were ready to join issue, though an artillery duel had been going on all day, rather to the disadvantage of the French, who lost three hundred men; for the Spanish batteries were the better. Even though late, Condé was about to attack, and, accompanied by de l'Hopital, was busy with his final dispositions, when La Ferté, inspired by the foolish idea of making a brilliant *coup* and of throwing a force into Rocroy, left his post in the line at the head of the left wing cavalry, and enabled Melos, who had a keen military eye, to sharply advance his own right. Had the Spaniard pushed boldly in, the day would have been beyond a peradventure his; but he did not do so; La Ferté was recalled, and the gap he had made was patched up. Daylight had gone, however, and Condé reluctantly put off his attack to the morrow.

Between the two armies lay lower land, and here, in the underbrush opposite the Spanish left, Melos had hidden a thousand musketeers, hoping to fall on Condé's flank when he should lead out his right wing of cavalry; but Condé had got wind of the ambush, and his first act in the morning twi-

light was to fall on these men and cut them to pieces; after which he sent Gassion forward and well to the right with the first line of his cavalry to attack Albuquerque in flank, while he himself with the remainder should attack in front. His line of retreat lay back of his right, and this he must protect at all hazards. Surprised at the manœuvre, Albuquerque nevertheless detached eight squadrons against Gassion, and prepared to receive Condé with a firm foot. But the French charge was too fiery; Condé drove in upon the enemy with the fury of hot-headed youth; his horsemen followed the impulse of the prince of the blood; Albuquerque's cavalry was ridden down and fled; and Condé sent Gassion in pursuit, while he himself turned in on the flank of Melos' infantry, in which he wrought fearful carnage among the Germans, Walloons and Italians. On the French right the success was beyond all expectation. Victory seemed near at hand.

Not so on the left. Marshal de l'Hopital had started his cavalry out at too fast a gait, so that it reached the enemy winded and in some disorder; Melos met it by a sharp counter-charge and drove it back; de l'Hopital was wounded, and Melos pursued his advantage just as Condé had done his, fell on the flank of part of the French infantry, cut it to pieces, captured La Ferté and all his guns, and actually reached the reserve. The enemy had purchased a promise of victory with equal ease as Condé. The case looked desperate. The merest accident would turn the scale either way. Sirot, who led the reserve, was urged by many of the runaways to retire, for the battle was lost, said they. "Not lost, sirs; for Sirot and his companions have not yet fought!" replied the brave officer, and manfully held his ground. It was an even chance on either side.

But Condé, learning of the disaster to his own left, now did what only the true instinct of war, the clear soldier's eye and

heart, could dictate. If he did not win with the squadrons he personally led, he saw that the battle was lost; and with the energy of a Cœnus or a Hasdrubal he spurred on, and still on, back of the Spanish foot, round to the enemy's right, out to the front, took Melos' victorious cavalry in the rear, sent it whirling back in the wake of the fugitives of the left, recaptured La Ferté and the guns, and took every one of the Spanish batteries on that flank. Few such superb rides have been made by any squadrons. Gassion ably seconded his chief by completing the rout, and nothing remained on the field except the splendid old Spanish infantry, which, like Father Tilly's Walloons at Breitenfeld, refused to decamp. It had been confronted by d'Espenant, who, however, with his newer battalions, had not dared to come hand to hand with the veterans. These, grouped with teeth set around their guns, and in the midst of panic and disaster, resolved to pluck victory from defeat, or to die where they stood. Who knew what so brave a body might yet accomplish?

Beck was near at hand with six thousand fresh troops, — a dreaded factor in the uncertain problem. Detaching gallant Gassion with his handful of cavalry to hold him in check at every hazard, Condé himself prepared to beat down the stern resistance of the Spanish battalions. He had now again taken his place in line after having made an entire circuit of the Spanish centre and having destroyed both its wings. Reassembling his squadrons, with the superb battle decision which always characterized him, and inspiring them with his own undaunted courage, he drove them home upon the Spanish foot. But he had not counted on what these men could do, nor on the iron will of old Fuentes. Masking his guns by a thin line of foot, and reserving his fire until the French squadrons were within fifty paces, the veteran uncovered his batteries, and opened upon the approaching horsemen his

eighteen pieces charged with grape, while the line gave so withering a volley that even Condé's men, flushed with victory and their prince's ardor, could not face the hail, but fell back in grave disorder. Had Fuentes possessed but a few squadrons, he might still have wrested a victory from the French. Not a Spanish sabre was on the field. Every man had fled.

A second time the prince headed his horse, a second time he was thrown back. A third charge was no more successful; the crisis was doubtful. Fuentes, from his litter, could watch with grim satisfaction his youthful antagonist breaking his lines on the Spanish square as the waves break on the rock. He had not lost yet.

But at this moment the reserve under Sirot came up. Condé changed his tactics to a less reckless one, as he should have sooner done: with the gendarmes he rode round the flanks of the Spanish foot, and put his infantry in front. Fuentes saw himself surrounded by superior numbers on all sides. This was decisive. The day was irretrievably gone. To save a remnant of his men, the old Spaniard made an attempt to surrender; but the French either understood not or could not be restrained, and a frightful butchery ensued. The battle of Rocroy ended in a bath of blood; and Beck, learning that there was no more Spanish army left to rescue, came to a right-about and precipitately retired, leaving behind some guns.

The Spanish losses were immense. Out of eighteen thousand foot, nine thousand are said to have been killed where they stood, and seven thousand were taken, with all the guns, three hundred flags and immense booty. Splendid Fuentes died where he had fought. The French losses are stated at only two thousand killed and wounded. If the figures are correct, it was but a modern sample of the butchery usual in

ancient warfare. "How many are you?" asked a French of a Spanish officer after the battle. "Count the dead and the prisoners, — they are all!" was the answer.

After this magnificent victory, in which Condé exhibited singular courage and energy, and proved himself a born battle-captain, he took Diedenhofen (Thionville) on the Moselle and returned to Paris, where he was the hero of the hour. His princely blood, coupled to marked courage and ability, made too rare a combination to be overlooked.



French Musketeer. (1647.)

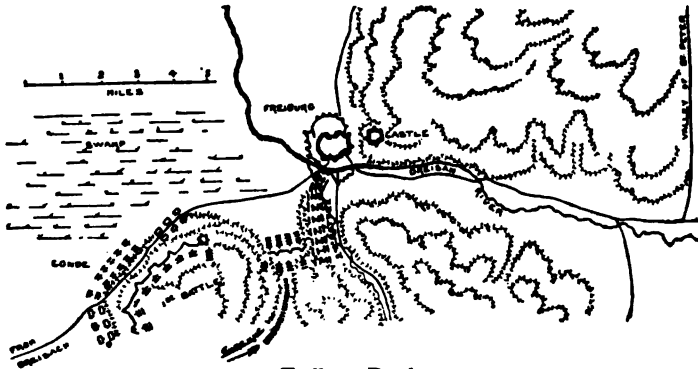
XXXVI.

FREIBURG. AUGUST, 1644.

AFTER Turenne's failure at Freiburg, Condé, who was believed equal to any emergency, was sent with ten thousand men to reinforce him and take command. On his arrival the two generals attacked Mercy in his works, Turenne by a long circuit around his left flank. The fighting was prolonged and bloody, and the French were divided; but Mercy withdrew to another position, and allowed them to reunite. Two days after, a second and rather miscalculated attack was made on the new works and was equally sanguinary; and again Mercy withdrew. After four days a turning manoeuvre was attempted; but Mercy retired definitively. The French commander then marched to Philipsburg, and after a handsome siege captured it; upon which Turenne moved down the Rhine, taking Speyer, Worms, Mainz and other towns; and later Landau. Condé returned to France, and Turenne resumed his position at Philipsburg. The two French generals were warm friends throughout life; neither was jealous of the other; each was active in his colleague's interests.

To return to Turenne's operations. Shortly after his failure at Freiburg, Condé crossed the Rhine at Breisach with his army of ten thousand men and Marshal Grammont second in command. He had marched from the Moselle, one hundred and eighty miles in thirteen days, then a rapid progress. Condé joined Turenne, August 2, at the camp which the latter had taken up fifteen or twenty miles from Breisach, and, as superior taking command of the combined forces, he moved forward to Freiburg. Mercy had fortified the height which Turenne had tried to seize some weeks before, and now held it in force. He had eight thousand foot and seven thousand horse, excellent troops, and had added to the strength which discipline had given the regiments all that art could do for their position. The hill he occupied was strongly intrenched

with a redoubt on the right and a line of works and abatis ; and with the swamp on one side and the mountains on the other, he quite shut out approach to the city. The main camp lay in the rear of the intrenched hill. A careful reconnoissance was at once undertaken by Condé and Turenne up to the enemy's position, and it was determined that the chief should advance against the height in front while, under cover of his sharp demonstration, Turenne should make his way through the woods and defiles round Mercy's left flank, push in on the plain, and thus take him in reverse. The main



Freiburg Battles.

attack was set for five o'clock in the afternoon of August 3, so as to give Turenne what was deemed ample time to make his way by the long and difficult circuit mentioned. It was not then known that the enemy had made the route almost impassable by an intrenchment at the outlet of the defile, and by trees felled across the path. The plan was made in the dark. If Condé or Turenne could break through or turn Mercy's line, they could reach the Freiburg plain ; but by no other means could this be done from the direction on which they were operating. Their division was extra hazardous, even on the assumption that Mercy would keep to his works.

Condé had six thousand foot and three to four thousand horse, and among his lieutenants were Marshal Grammont and Generals d'Espenant and Marsin. Turenne had ten thousand men, half horse, half foot.

At 5 P. M. Condé launched his men to the attack, there having been no special signal agreed on between him and Turenne. It was work for infantry only, and the cavalry was held in reserve on the flanks, to protect it so far as possible. The hill was one of those vine-terraced slopes, so common on the Rhine. Up it the troops went in gallant order, and took the line of abatis; but their loss was considerable, and they paused at the foot of the works, and began to spread in their uncertainty to right and left in search of shelter. This pause looked critical. Failure stared the young generalissimo in the face; and there was too much at stake to hesitate. Dismounting, with all his generals and staff, he and they dashed up the slope on foot, and personally headed the troops for a fresh assault. No nation responds to gallantry of this sort quicker than the French; the battalions again knit ranks, took fresh heart, and poured over the intrenchments like a flood. The hill was won, and out of the three thousand Bavarians who had so bravely defended it, a bare hundred escaped the ensuing massacre.

The situation was still desperate. Not knowing the ground, Condé feared a night attack by Mercy with fresh troops on his own men, who were unsettled by victory. He occupied the fort he had taken; with immense exertion got his cavalry up the slopes, and there waited anxiously for Turenne and the morning. Had he known the situation, he might have taken the enemy who lay in front of Turenne in reverse; but the uncertainty of darkness precluded any further action.

Turenne had started at daylight, had made his way with much exertion for sixteen or eighteen miles through the rug-

ged ground to within a short distance of the mouth of the defile; but here a much larger force of the Bavarians than had faced Condé held head to him behind their stout line of works. Unable to get his cavalry out into open ground where it could deploy to support him, he was baffled. But as the best way out of a desperate position, he boldly attacked. Both lines stood in close fighting contact, — the reports say forty paces, — and the battle lasted fiercely through the late afternoon and evening, and scarcely ceased at night. The French troops behaved well, and stood a loss of fifteen hundred men without flinching. These were the same men who had decamped not long since before a picket of twenty men, — a phenomenon constantly occurring in war, and always curious. At this spot the Bavarians lost two thousand five hundred men. In fact, the casualties of both sides are by some authorities stated at an aggregate of six thousand. Each army was severely punished.

Haply, the action of Mercy cut the knot of the French leaders' difficulty. On account of his depletion he dreaded a fresh battle under the same conditions; and during the night, lest between the prince and the marshal he should not be able to hold himself on the lower ground and should suffer a more marked defeat, he withdrew to a new position back of the old one, leaning his right, which was of horse, on the outworks of Freiburg. Turenne and Condé were able to join hands and once more breathe freely. Their situation had been a bad one, but Mercy's retiring had saved them harmless.

Turenne advised an attack on the 4th, but Condé declined to make one on the score of the exhaustion of the troops. Mercy threw up fresh works. His position was if possible stronger than the first one, but cramped. His artillery, sustained by four thousand foot, was posted so as to sweep the

approaches of the hill, and he was able to utilize the lines he had erected in the late siege. His front he covered with works constructed of rough logs, and with abatis.

The succeeding day, August 5, brought on another hotly contested battle. Turenne felt the enemy early, edging to the right to make room for Condé on his left, and the latter's troops were got into touch with the enemy. During a lull in the opening of the fighting, when the two French commanders were reconnoitring with a view to a combined assault on the Bavarian lines, and had ordered that no manœuvres should be undertaken in their absence, the restless commander of Condé's French infantry of the left, General d'Espenant, carried away by imprudent ardor, advanced on a work in his front that seemed weakly held; seeing which, General Tautpadel, who understood that he was to follow the lead of the left, also threw forward his first line from the right. Both attacks were met in force, and brought on a series of partial engagements quite lacking *ensemble*; the French battalions lost heart and fell back from work which, well inaugurated, they would have cheerfully done; and the result was to disturb the tactical plans of the French commanders, and to bring about heavy losses on both sides, followed by an indecisive result. Turenne confesses in his memoirs that, had the enemy known the French situation, they could have destroyed the army, as the losses during the day had been between two and three thousand men in the wasteful fighting. But the Bavarians were in equally bad case, for Mercy had lost some twelve hundred killed, and his men were apparently more demoralized than the French, who had Condé and Turenne to sustain their flagging zeal.

The line of communications and supply, and now sole line of retreat, of Mercy was through the valley of St. Peter's Abbey in his rear to Villingen. Condé, being unable to see

success in another front attack, on the 9th essayed to cut this line by a flank march via Langendenzlingen. This march was conducted expertly, but Mercy at once perceived its purpose, for the ground was open and revealed the direction of the French columns. He promptly withdrew, and marched on his base in Würtemberg.

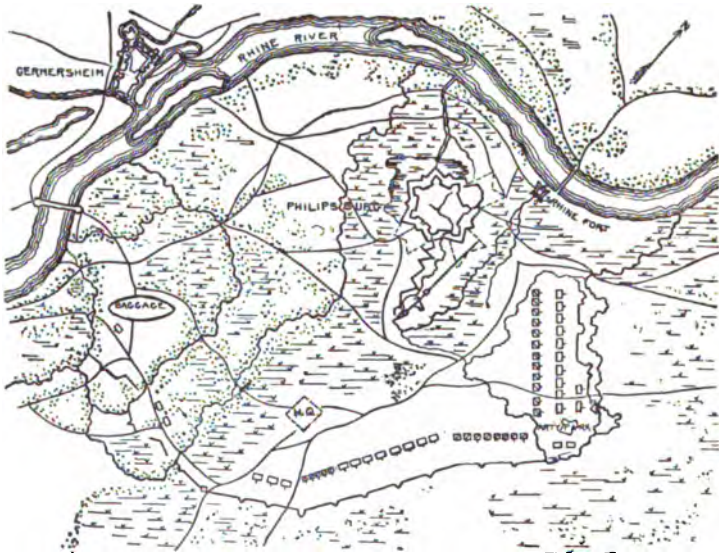
If the joint attack of Condé and Turenne on the 5th had not been spoiled by the folly of d'Espenant, there was promise of a handsome victory. As it was, the Bavarian army had been reduced by nearly half, and the French joint forces by over five thousand men, in this three days' work. Desormeaux states the French loss in killed and wounded at six thousand men, and the Bavarian at nine thousand. But the French had captured all Mercy's guns.

The French followed Mercy, but their van under Rosen suffered a check in a gallantly sustained cavalry combat; and the extent of their present gain was the capture of a part of Mercy's train. The country was too mountainous to make a pursuit profitable, and lack of victual drove them back to Freiburg, as well as the fact that they were not equipped for lengthy operations and considered themselves too far from their base, the Rhine. They concluded, though it had but five hundred men in garrison, not to lay siege to Freiburg, whose possession Condé thought would bring no marked advantage, and would scarcely save the army from the necessity of retiring to Alsatia and Lorraine to winter.

Condé, whose ideas were always broad, deemed it wiser to turn downstream on Philipsburg, to capture which fortress would result in commanding a large section of country on the right bank of the Rhine, on which the army might more readily subsist till spring. The siege would be a difficult one, but the enemy could not now reach the place in season to head him off; Strasburg would furnish victual by boats

down the river; and in this city he could, on his own credit, borrow money for the paymasters. Lack of sufficient infantry was the main objection to the plan.

Batteries were prepared in Breisach and floated down the Rhine on pontoons, with as much material and food as could be gathered. Cavalry parties were sent out to seize places likely to offer opposition on the march; and the van



Philipsburg.

under Rosen followed. On August 16 the army broke up, with Turenne in the lead, and advanced down the Rhine valley to Philipsburg, where they arrived August 25, and Turenne at once blockaded the place. The garrison was probably under a thousand men.

Philipsburg was one of the most important places on the Rhine, and lay in a plain surrounded by woods and marshes. It had only earthwork defenses, but these were very strong, mounted with one hundred guns, and the water from the river

flowed into wide and deep ditches. Approachable on but one side, — the south, — it had a fort which fairly well commanded the river. Philipsburg had been acquired by France from the Swedes, who had captured it, but the emperor had retaken it, and Condé saw the strategic advantage of its possession.

In order to control the river, the redoubt there situated was first captured by Turenne in a night attack. Contravallation and circumvallation lines were then opened. Two approaches were made, one by Grammont and one by Turenne, on the 7th of September; next day a sortie was driven back, and a few days later an attempt to relieve the place was successfully resisted. The approaches were vigorously pushed, and the commander, Colonel Bamberg, despairing of holding out, and anxious to save the large stores and treasury for the emperor, finally accepted terms, and Philipsburg surrendered September 12. During the siege, the French sent out a small detachment, which took Germersheim and occupied Speyer.

In his memoirs Turenne complains that the French infantry had lost heart in the Freiburg campaign. They had behaved well at times, and ill at times, proving a certain lack of discipline; and yet they had shown exceptional ability to stand hammering, — not the only, but the most essential requisite of the soldier. They had lost an exceptionally heavy percentage of men; and those who served through our 1864 campaign in Virginia will remember that the extreme depletion of a rapid succession of battles will sometimes react on even the best of troops.

The day after the surrender Turenne, under instructions from Condé, crossed the Rhine with his two thousand German cavalry and a chosen body of five hundred musketeers, and learning that a Spanish column was on the march to

Frankenthal, he sent a suitable detachment, which attacked this body, captured five hundred, and dispersed or killed the rest. The marshal then moved his infantry on boats down to Worms and Oppenheim, of which he took the former out of hand, while the latter fell to Rosen's cavalry; disembarked, and advanced by forced marches without baggage to Mainz, which was at the moment disgarnished of troops. This important city, whose possession secured the highway between France and her ally Hesse, though a Bavarian dragoon force under Colonel Wolf sought to relieve it, after some negotiations surrendered, on a threat to storm it if surrender was refused or Wolf admitted. Condé shortly put in an appearance with the army, and took possession. The elector of Mainz had gone to Frankfort; and the French occupied the whole vicinity, except only the castle of Creuznach, which held out. Small forces were left in Mainz, Oppenheim and Worms, and the French generals returned to Philipsburg. After reducing Creuznach, Turenne undertook the siege of Landau, where the French forces had just lost their commander, and on September 19, with a delay of only a few days, the place fell.

After the capture of a few more smaller fortresses (Neustadt, Mannheim, Bacharach and others) Condé withdrew to France by way of Kaiserslautern and Metz, and Turenne remained at Philipsburg, with a much reduced force. The campaign had eventuated in decided gain.

Condé and Turenne were worthy of each other. Except for a later temporary estrangement during the wars of the Fronde, they remained firm friends through life, neither jealous of the other's accomplishment or ability, and able when together to work in perfect accord. Condé, who in these early campaigns was his superior in rank, knew how to utilize Turenne's experience, energy and skill to his own advantage,

but he never begrudged his lieutenant the appreciation which was his just due, nor denied him his share of the honor in the victories won by their joint efforts. And while opposed to each other in the wars of the Fronde, their friendship remained firm, as was the case with many of the generals in our own civil war. As general in command, Condé was of course entitled to the technical credit of success; yet no one can fail to see how largely Turenne contributed to this; and justice requires, as in the case of Marlborough and Eugene, — though these generals were equal in command, — that we should award to each his good half of the glory won. There are campaigns and battles of which the glory is universally yielded rather to the lieutenant than to the captain. Such was Chancellorsville. Though Lee was in supreme command, our thoughts instinctively award to Stonewall Jackson the credit of the flank march and attack which were the beginning of the end in that, from the Confederate aspect, superb campaign. It was so in some of the campaigns of Turenne and Condé.



French Infantry Soldier.
(1660.)

XXXVII.

MERGENTHEIM. MAY 5, 1645.

BEFORE going into winter-quarters, Turenne once more crossed the Rhine ; but as he found Mercy quiet on the Neckar, he undertook nothing. Next spring (1645) he again put over his army, and turning Mercy's position by the left, cut him off from Swabia. Mercy retired to Dinkelsbühl ; Turenne followed to Mergentheim. Here, for ease of victualing, he spread out his forces over too wide an area ; Mercy and Werth moved sharply on him, and in the battle ensuing, by his troops behaving badly, Turenne was defeated with heavy loss. But he skillfully retired to Hesse, where he was joined by ten thousand Hessians and Swedes, and again immediately advanced on the enemy, who was besieging Kirchhain. Condé with eight thousand men now came up, and took command of the joint army. The Swedes retired, leaving him seventeen thousand men. Crossing the Neckar, the French at Heilbronn turned the Bavarians' position, who retired to Feuchtwangen, and after a few days' manoeuvring to Dinkelsbühl. Following them up, the French generals forced them back to Allerheim, where they determined to attack them.

SHORTLY after Condé's departure, Turenne ascertained that, after repairing his losses, Mercy had left Würtemberg, and was marching on Heidelberg and Mannheim. He suspected that the Bavarian general designed to entice him away to cover Speyer, Worms and Mainz, in order meanwhile to seize Philipsburg by a *coup de main*. He accordingly left two thousand men near this fortress in an intrenched camp, threw a bridge, and crossed the Rhine near Speyer with his cavalry and a few musketeers, sent small detachments to Worms and Mainz, and took full precaution to protect all four places. It was a common habit of Turenne, as it was of Gustavus, to provide for remote contingencies. Mercy, however, had no such far-reaching intention ; he

remained quiet between Heidelberg and Mannheim, and Turenne assumed that for want of provision he preferred not to cross the Rhine. He therefore sent the bulk of his troops to Lorraine into winter-quarters, keeping but a few cavalry regiments near the Rhine, and these he billeted in the towns. The two thousand foot remained at Philipsburg; what remained of the foot Turenne marched to Alsatia.

Soon afterwards Turenne heard that the duke of Lorraine had passed the Moselle with six thousand men, had captured several places, Castellaun and Simmern among them, and was investing Bacharach. Hurriedly marching with five hundred horse on Mainz and Bingen, he spread the rumor that this was but the van of the entire army, which in truth he made arrangements to mobilize, and forced the duke back. Then taking the castle of Creuznach, which had held out in the last siege, he definitely retired, in December, 1644, into winter-quarters along the left bank of the Rhine, with headquarters in Speyer. The year had been full of activity, and fairly successful.

In early April of 1645 Turenne again entered the field with six thousand foot, five thousand horse and fifteen guns, crossed the Rhine on a bridge of boats at Speyer, and moved on Pforzheim. He hoped in opening the campaign to anticipate Mercy, who lay beyond the Neckar with a force which had been diminished to six or seven thousand men by sending reinforcements to the imperial army in Bohemia, and whose troops were yet spread all over the country in cantonments. With his cavalry alone, and leaving his foot to follow on by rapid marches, Turenne crossed the Neckar near Marbach, April 16, through a ford which was not watched by the enemy, and marched along the right bank past Heilbronn to Schwäbisch-Hall, in order to throw Mercy, who had intended to move southward into Swabia, back in a

northerly direction. This was a neat and well-executed manœuvre; and to follow out his plan, now that Turenne had cut him off, and recover his communications with the Danube country, Mercy was obliged at once to move easterly, towards Dinkelsbühl and Feuchtwangen, by a considerable circuit.

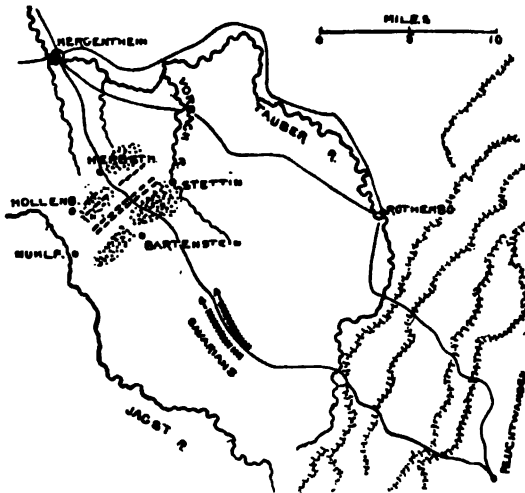
At one moment during his advance with his cavalry Turenne feared that Mercy would fall on his infantry column, which was far in the rear and separated from the horse, and turned back towards it. This afforded watchful Mercy a chance to slip by him; he did not, however, venture to attack the column of foot. But for thus retracing his steps, Turenne would have earned the chance to follow Mercy with his horse, and to give his rear-guard a hearty slap; but all through his career he was noted for scrupulous care; and while this in the long run served him admirably, at times it looks like over-caution. In this case Mercy gained abundant leisure to escape.

Turenne had accomplished his object, and had warded off any danger of the enemy's invasion of Alsatia; but as Mercy had got away from him without a blow, Turenne assembled all his forces at Hall, and moved north on Mergentheim (or Marienthal) on the Tauber, so as to have in his rear and open to him the allied Hessian country. He had good reason to hope that before summer he should receive reinforcements from there; on the arrival of which he counted on pushing into the heart of Germany, a thing which at the moment he did not feel strong enough to attempt. Near this town he put the foot and artillery into camp.

By his able turning manœuvre he had hustled the enemy out of a position threatening to France, and then reëstablished himself by a change of base where he could rely either upon his holdings in Alsatia or on his Hessian allies. The entire

operation was skillful ; in it we see a gleam of the purposeful manœuvring of the future.

From Mergentheim Turenne sent General Rosen with four or five cavalry regiments as an outpost up the Tauber towards Rothemburg, and quartered the rest of his cavalry, for greater convenience of foraging, in towns two or three hours in the rear. This was a manifest error, for the enemy was not far distant, was in good heart and ably led, and Turenne knew



Operation of Mergentheim.

nothing of his intentions ; he ought to have kept well concentrated. In effect, within a day or so, he learned that the Bavarians had broken up at Feuchtwangen, and were moving on him at Mergentheim. Rosen had not had enough scouting parties out, and the information preceded the enemy's van but a few hours.

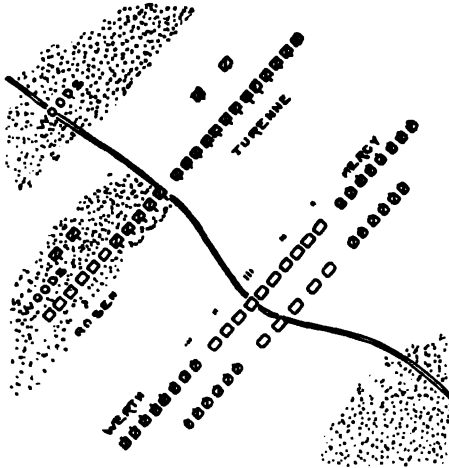
Immediately ordering Rosen back to a position where he could be sustained, Turenne called in his outlying cavalry parties, and instructed Rosen to take position in rear of a

wood which lay some distance in front of Mergentheim, at which obstacle he could conveniently assemble all his forces, and if desirable retire to a better point for battle. He should, observes Napoleon, have ordered his forces to assemble at Mergentheim, which was behind the Tauber and nearer for all the outlying regiments, certainly at a point further behind the outposts than the one he chose. But to make matters worse, by misunderstanding his orders, Rosen took position in front of the wood, where, as alleged by Turenne, he could neither hold himself, nor easily retreat, nor be readily supported, and where the enemy, if he attacked him, was sure to bring on an engagement on unfavorable ground. This was in fact what occurred. Mercy advanced on him, and Turenne found himself compelled to sustain his lieutenant under awkward conditions.

Our own habit of frequently fighting in the woods during the civil war breeds among American soldiers a belief that a forest is not so marked an obstacle as it is wont to be considered in Europe. But in Turenne's days, and in fact at all times, a wood even free from the underbrush of the American forest was considered a very serious post to attack, if held by foot; and so difficult was it deemed to get troops through an open wood in good order, that a few squadrons posted beyond it were believed to be able to break up the organization of troops emerging from it. The nature of the wood had naturally much to do with the matter; but on such a terrain as our "Wilderness," no European army would for a moment think of manœuvring. They are too much used to the open plain; and it was under such conditions that Turenne proposed to fall upon his enemy after the latter had passed through the wood and was apt to be in broken order.

The three thousand infantry which had arrived Turenne placed on the right of the cavalry, equally in the wood, and

sustained by two other squadrons. He himself took up post in the left wing. As the Bavarians advanced in two lines, the foot in the centre and the horse on the wings, the right under command of Mercy and the left of John de Werth, Turenne led forward his own cavalry, fell upon the horse in first line on the Bavarian right, and threw it back on the second line in much disorder. But meanwhile Werth attacked the French infantry in the wood, and the latter, which had been hurried into action and felt as if it had been surprised, and was moreover in poor order from having been pushed through the wood, after but a single salvo seemed to lose heart, and, attacked in front and on both flanks, fled, carrying with it the two squadrons of cavalry which sustained



Mergentheim Battle.

it. This disgraceful conduct, which now enabled Werth to threaten Turenne's flank, forced the French left wing of horse to retire also, which it did in equal disorder. Rosen was captured, and Turenne so nearly compromised that he was forced to cut himself out sword in hand. The fault here appears to have been not more due to the position than to the lack of endurance of the troops; and yet this was the same infantry which at Freiburg the year before had so cheerfully stood decimation.

In Turenne's rear lay still another wood. Here he boldly

essayed a further defense with three fresh cavalry regiments which had just come up, and some twenty-five hundred rallied runaways. But as the enemy prudently took time to reform and came on in fine shape, and he could make no headway in retrieving his loss, Turenne accepted his defeat in good part, and definitively retired. He personally covered the retreat up the Tauber on the Main with two of the three cavalry regiments that were intact, detailing the third to accompany the disorganized foot, which he ordered to retreat to the border of Hesse; but as the Bavarians followed him up more sharply than usual, and as he disputed every inch of the way, he lost heavily in men and flags and guns in the rear-guard fighting. The battle of Mergentheim had cost him all his artillery, baggage and fifteen hundred men. The tactical pursuit, however, did not continue far. The Bavarians, according to the habit of the day, remained on the field to celebrate the victory.

In his memoirs Turenne openly acknowledges his defeat. In this respect the French marshal is a model. Whether the advantage lay with him or with the enemy, he always frankly confesses it. Unlike so many generals, whose retreat from the field of battle belies their grandiloquent reports of victory, Turenne lays bare the facts, shows us his errors, and thus gives us lessons which can never be learned from prevaricating dispatches.

The Bavarians soon followed Turenne to Hesse and laid siege to Kirchhain; Turenne retired to Cassel. Near this place he joined the six thousand Hessians, and the Swedes who, four thousand strong, had come up from Brunswick under Königsmark; by which accessions, with his own four thousand horse and one thousand five hundred foot, he made up a force of fifteen thousand men; and with these he at once advanced on Kirchhain. This was all done within twelve

days after his defeat, showing an elasticity and a quickness of movement which were admirable; for Cassel is about a hundred miles from Mergentheim, and there were negotiations which consumed some days and delayed Turenne's action as much as the reorganization of his troops. Raising the siege of Kirchhain, the Bavarians at once retired to Franconia. Turenne shortly led his forces to join the eight thousand men coming by way of Speyer under Condé, which he did at Ladenburg, near Mannheim, on July 5.

Condé again assumed command. He had been campaigning on the Meuse, where France desired a foothold strong enough to control Lorraine, a province essential to her communications with Germany; and having left Villeroi to continue his work, he had been ordered to the relief of Turenne, whose defeat had demoralized the French court. They had abundant confidence in Condé, but lacked belief in Turenne, — a rather curious want of discrimination, yet easily bred of Rocroy and the two last campaigns. They changed their mind ere long.

Though in command, Condé, unlike the court, had the good sense to recognize the worth of Turenne, and took counsel of his ample knowledge and courage; and the two generals at once moved up the left bank of the Neckar on Heilbronn. But Mercy anticipated them at this important place; and finding the Bavarians beyond the river and holding the passage there so as to make it difficult to force, they had to choose between a march up river towards Swabia or another crossing and a march towards the Danube country. The Swedish contingent refused to entertain the former plan, fearing by so distant an operation to be cut off from north Germany; and the French commanders finally decided on Wimpfen, which place they took, and crossed the Neckar on a bridge they built. Here Königsmark, in consequence of

a disagreement with Condé, and restless at serving under so young a commander, left the French and led his Swedes back towards the Main. The Hessians stood by, and Condé and Turenne, taking a number of places on the way, moved on Rothenburg. So soon as the French had crossed the Neckar, the Bavarians retired on a substantially parallel line to Feuchtwangen, where they set up an intrenched camp. The French commanders offered Mercy battle, but without avail; for Mercy deemed it better to retire to another intrenched camp, behind Dinkelsbühl. The rival armies had got back to the same campaigning ground on which they had manoeuvred a month or two before. From Dinkelsbühl, in a few days, leaving a small garrison in this place, the enemy retired, and camped behind a wood several miles further back, apparently as a stratagem to induce the French to besiege the camp just left, an operation which might afford them an occasion of making a favorable attack. Turenne and Condé followed up this retreat, and stopping at Dinkelsbühl to capture the intrenched camp, soon learned that the army under Mercy was advancing on them. Leaving a small body to observe the camp, the French set out to meet the enemy. Both Condé and Turenne accompanied the van, while Grammont brought up the main army.

At break of day the French, who had marched at night, struck the Bavarian van, and this retired on its main body, which was intrenched in a difficult position behind a marshy brook and some ponds. An all-day's cannonade resulted, with a loss of three hundred men on each side; but though the Bavarians could not be successfully attacked in their position, they feared for their line of retreat, and concluded to retire towards Nördlingen. Having so far failed by front operations to gain any advantage over the enemy, two hours before daylight next day the French generals, turning the

Bavarian position by the right, also marched on Nördlingen, which they reached by nine o'clock, and camped in the plain, leaving the baggage train in some of the villages in the rear. The Bavarian army, which had been reinforced by seven thousand imperial troops under General Glein, had divined the manœuvre, and lest they should be cut off, had already reached Nördlingen plain in light order, and seized an advantageous position.



French Dragoon. (17th Century.)

XXXVIII.

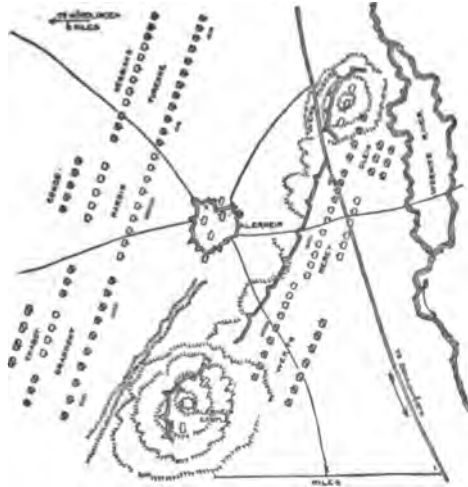
ALLERHEIM. AUGUST 5, 1645.

THE Bavarian right, under Glein, lay on the Wennenberg; their centre, under Meroy, back of and in Allerheim village; their left, under Werth, on the hill and in the castle of Allerheim. Condé, in the French centre, essayed with his infantry to capture Allerheim, but was driven back; Werth broke the French right under Grammont and drove it well to the rear: the day was very doubtful. But Turenne, on the French left, by splendid efforts broke Glein's formation and captured the Wennenberg. After defeating Grammont, Werth, by striking Turenne's right, might have completed the Bavarian victory; but he did not utilize his advantage in the best manner, and night came on. The Bavarians retired, and the French kept the field. The losses were very heavy. Nördlingen surrendered; the enemy moved back of the Danube. The French would have liked to winter in Swabia, but the Bavarians demonstrated towards them and they retired to the Rhine. After capturing Trier and Oberwesel, Turenne went into winter-quarters. On the whole, the campaign was favorable to the French; for its activity, it was highly creditable to Turenne.

THE rolling plain of Nördlingen, watered by the Würmütz and Eger, is a dozen miles in diameter, and the town lies near its southwestern edge. Near the southeastern edge, backing up against the Würmütz, lay the enemy, between two hills, a mile and a half apart. The Wennenberg is about one hundred and sixty feet above the plain, and steep; the other, about one hundred and twenty feet high and less steep, was at the time crowned by the castle of Allerheim. Between them, a quarter of a mile further forward, lay the village of Allerheim. From the castle hill to Allerheim ran a wide and deep gully; from Allerheim to the Wennenberg the ground is much cut up. In this admirable defensive position, proposing to fight for the possession of Nördlingen and the

protection of Bavaria, Mercy took his stand early on August 3, and began to intrench; and shortly there arose a strong line of earthworks, hard to force, easy to hold. In prolongation of his left through the hills ran the short road to the Danube at Donauwörth, a good day's march away.

The Bavarian right leaned on the Wörmitz, and its left on the castle of Allerheim. This stronghold and the village opposite the centre were occupied by foot; the main force lay on the heights behind the village, and the cavalry was posted on both flanks. Glein was on the right; John de Werth, an able veteran officer, on the left; Mercy in the centre. Artillery was posted all along the lines, and the *élite* of the infantry held the village. Mercy had about sixteen thousand men.



Battle of Allerheim.

Condé, with Turenne and Grammont, made a reconnoissance early in the day; and though the position of the enemy evoked some serious comments, he decided to fight, and was sustained by the council then usual. His force was slightly superior to Mercy's. He posted Count Grammont in two lines and a reserve on the right, opposite Werth; the foot, — the *corps de bataille*, — also in two lines, was in the centre, under Marsin; and Turenne, with his own forces and the

Hessians in reserve, held the left opposite Glein. The usual artillery duel opened the action.

Towards noon the French troops began to move forward, but they took till four o'clock marshaling for the attack; a period which, with an army of so small a size, suggests very mediocre capacity to manœuvre. They then advanced, artillery in front, and smartly attacked the village, which lay well in front of the enemy's main line, but lost more heavily by the Bavarian artillery than the enemy did by theirs. Batteries at that day were slow of movement, and on both sides the guns were, according to modern standard, clumsily managed. It was not the artillery of Gustavus, and the Swedes then still possessed the only well-managed, easily-handled batteries. Even the French, despite their imitative ability and the intelligent manner of their equipment, had as yet reached no such standard of excellence in field-guns as Gustavus had boasted.

Condé believed that no impression could be made on Mercy's line until the force which was thrust out as a salient in the village was disposed of; he took his stand here, and directed the attack of Marsin's foot. At that point the action began, and very heavy fighting was kept up, with especial severity in the churchyard. The French behaved with commendable gallantry, and were met with equal courage by the Bavarians; the village was captured and recaptured five times, the ground being fought over with admirable tenacity. Condé, whose peculiar style of fighting and experience was suited to cavalry rather than foot, was somewhat out of his element, but he clung to his work; his staff were nearly all disabled, he himself had several horses shot under him during the day, and received bullets on his breastplate and through his clothing. Mercy was killed, and both parties lost heavily. Success in the centre was disputed. Condé began to see that

he could not compass a victory here by even his best efforts; the victor of Rocroy had met a more stubborn task than he had yet faced. This cold-blooded infantry fighting lacked the touch-and-go of cavalry work.

While this was going on, Condé had directed Grammont to attack Werth; but the count, on ascertaining the presence of the gully above referred to, maintained that he could not reach the Bavarian line; and Condé rode over to the left, leaving him to a defensive rôle. To show how mistaken he was, soon after Condé's departure the Bavarian cavalry of the left wing, led by Werth in person, rode out, crossed the gully without difficulty, and attacked the French cavalry under Grammont, striking it partly in flank, and driving it back after a mere attempt at resistance. In the confusion Marshal Grammont was shot and captured. Had it not been for the reserve of this wing, Werth would have won the victory right here; but General Chabot somewhat checked his progress, and so much time elapsed before Werth could complete the wreck of the French right, that the opportunity slipped out of his hands. Werth did, however, eventually crush Grammont, and this disaster threw the French infantry of the centre and the cavalry in its support completely out of Allerheim.

Matters looked dubious for the French. Happily, on their left there was a man of energy and resources, of caution when called for, of gallantry not second to Condé's; a man who could deal you lusty blows. During this time, while Condé had been unable to capture Allerheim, and Grammont had been driven from his foothold on the right, Turenne, with the cavalry of the French left, had gallantly and repeatedly charged in on the enemy's right, and, after a tough conflict and much loss, had, despite the bad ground, driven the first line back on the second. Here he was for a moment checked,

partly by the fresh troops brought up by Glein, and partly by the view of the French disaster in the village and on the right. It was a critical moment, one of those which show up the man. The only French troops which had not been beaten were under his command ; but Turenne, who though wounded still kept in the saddle, was not to be easily discouraged ; he saw that he held the fate of victory in his grasp ; only he could save the French from another defeat. He ordered up the Hessians, who were fresh and eager ; Condé put in an appearance to help encourage the troops, and, returning to the charge, the two generals definitely drove back the Bavarian right wing of cavalry, which had advanced into the plain. At the same time, under cover of this charge, the Bavarian infantry of their right on the Wennenberg was sharply attacked ; Turenne's men caught the ardor of victory and the heroism of their chief ; and in the mêlée General Glein and all the artillery were captured.

Having completed the discomfiture of the French right, despite the success of the French left, Werth now had the battle in his own hands. He should have turned directly against Turenne and have struck a blow at his naked flank, while he was busy breaking up the Bavarian right. Had he done so, Turenne would have been destroyed, and there was no obstacle in Werth's way. The French right was broken, and the centre had been driven out of Allerheim and well back. The Bavarians held the town, and the road was open. But Werth, though instinct with gallantry of the first water, and of unquestioned ability, did not here exhibit the *coup d'œil* of a battle captain. Instead of riding across the front of Allerheim, directly at Turenne's open flank, he returned by the way he had gone out, and came into action by the rear of the village, arriving too late to be of any use. When he reached Turenne, in fact, he struck him, not in flank, as he

might have done, but in front, or at best at an oblique angle. His work was thus quite ineffective, and Turenne was able to turn against him and throw him back from the Wennenberg.

Night had come on. The left of each army was victorious, the French somewhat the more advanced, and well beyond Allerheim. The right wing of each had been utterly worsted. Supposing themselves cut off by Turenne's advance, the Bavarian troops in Allerheim surrendered. Neither side had won an undisputed victory, but after midnight the Bavarian army confessed defeat by quietly withdrawing from the field, unaware that the French were as badly demoralized as they themselves were; and their retreat compensated Turenne, to whom the credit of the victory was due, for his late defeat at Mergentheim. "Were I not Condé, I would wish to be Turenne!" exclaimed the young general-in-chief in his exultation over what his lieutenant had accomplished; and despite the fact that Napoleon awards the main praise of this victory to Condé, it was really Turenne's battle — as Condé in a letter to the queen of Sweden generously acknowledges.

Had the fighting continued next day, it is more than probable that the Bavarians would have been beaten, as they had lost their leaders, and with a woody defile in their rear on their route to the Danube, in case of defeat they were badly placed. The French had suffered heavily in casualties, — four thousand in killed and wounded, — but had captured all the Bavarian guns. The Bavarians lost an equal number and two thousand captured beside, with nearly all their battle flags. Of their generals, Mercy was killed, Glein captured, and Werth in full retreat; of the French generals, all three were wounded. The battle was contested in the handsomest manner. The French loss had been most severe in the infantry; a bare twelve hundred serviceable foot could be gathered under arms.

In this battle of Allerheim (or, as it is often called, of Nördlingen) the French cavalry of the right had behaved badly; that of the left with commendable steadiness. The French infantry at that time has been taxed by contemporary writers with being lamentably bad. The men, they said, would attack once in good heart, but if beaten in an assault, there was no more fight left in them. Once dispersed, they could not be rallied. And yet they fought stanchly here, and we shall see that they did noble work under the influence of such men as Turenne, Condé, Vendôme and Villars. Despite their uncertain mood, they were at times capable of very gallant fighting, as their percentage of loss well shows.

Heavy casualties are not always a sure test of steadiness. A division which marches straight at the foe may win at a small loss; a division which hesitates may suffer decimation under the enemy's fire, and if defeated — or even if it wins — its loss will be no test of its push or its resistance. Butchery apart, only long-protracted fighting between equally matched divisions, with heavy losses on both sides, — the Bloody Angle as an instance, — is a test of battle courage and discipline. Heavy losses may be accidental.

Nördlingen did not await the French attack, but at once surrendered, and the captured Bavarians were allowed to leave for home without weapons. Turenne followed up the enemy's retreat to Donauwörth with his cavalry, whence he returned to the army; and Condé and he, after a few days' rest, retired to Dinkelsbühl, which likewise surrendered. This rearward movement Turenne explains by lack of money and consequent inability to victual so far from the Rhine and Neckar country.

Condé now left the army, seriously ill, and Count Grammont, who had been released, took his place; but Turenne and he continued operations jointly. Turenne was so far his

superior, as even that of Condé, that it grates upon one's sense of justice to see him so often second in command. It was by an extension of the ancient belief that kings divinely inherit their rights into the superstition that princes are born generals, that the command of armies was often placed in hands unfit to hold it, and that Turenne did not always stand where he deserved to be. But his merit was so well recognized by his superiors that he was uniformly given entire latitude in his operations.

The French now marched back to Heilbronn, but having small siege material, could not take this strongly garrisoned place; and thence by a sudden change of plan they advanced on Schwäbisch-Hall, hoping to push the enemy back over the Danube, so as to enable them to winter in Swabia. But the Bavarian army, reinforced by seven thousand imperial cavalry and dragoons, took up its stand at Donauwörth on the left bank, and demonstrated towards the French; when the latter, not liking to go into winter-quarters too near an army superior to itself in numbers, deemed it best to retire on the Main and Neckar. This withdrawal appears to have been made on a slender pretext; but the reasons alleged by the old historians are often quoted in these pages, even when they do not appeal to us as sound. The French left a garrison of six hundred men in Wimpfen, and retired across the Neckar at this point. The water was so deep that the cavalry had to swim the river, each one taking a footman with him, and a number of men and wagons were lost.

From here the French army again withdrew to Philipsburg, hoping to camp permanently on the right bank, and the Bavarians followed it up. Turenne began an intrenched position between Philipsburg and the Rhine, and sent his cavalry and baggage over to the left bank on boats; while, finding that they could accomplish nothing further, the Bava-

rians returned to Wimpfen, captured it, as was to be expected, and went into winter-quarters.

The French army under Grammont marched back to France, but Turenne, learning that the enemy was kept too busy in Flanders to hinder him, moved on Trier, captured it by a two days' siege, gave it over for occupation to the allied elector of Trier, besieged and stormed the castle of Oberwesel on the Rhine, and then, placing his army in winter-quarters along the Rhine and Moselle, he personally repaired to Paris.

This campaign is distinguished from those of the period by its stirring activity, and by seeking battle rather than by besieging strong places. Against the defeat at Mergentheim may fairly be placed the victory at Allerheim, and the speed shown by Condé and Turenne is highly commendable, compared with that of other commanders. The Bavarian movements followed the French, who in every case retained the initiative. The advantage, if any, was on the French side, though they ended where they began; and it was rather technical than real. Many of the campaigns of this era appear to us to have no very manifest objective, as they had no very definite outcome; and armies were wont to return to their base for winter-quarters. Such campaigns were mere rounds in a boxing match; each opponent sought to tire out the other, if there was no particular object to gain. It is the peculiar indefiniteness of almost all campaigns of the day preceding and following him which throws the clear-cut purpose of Gustavus into such relief. What Gustavus once took, he held; other generals rarely did so.

The biographers of Condé are wont to ascribe to him all the credit of this and other campaigns in which Turenne and he worked jointly; but the after history of both these captains best indicates who was the more able man. Condé

knew well how to put Turenne's ability to use, and the latter's modesty never permitted him to trench on his superior's prerogative; but it must be said to Condé's credit that he was always generous in the division of honors.



Norman Soldier.
(7th Century.)

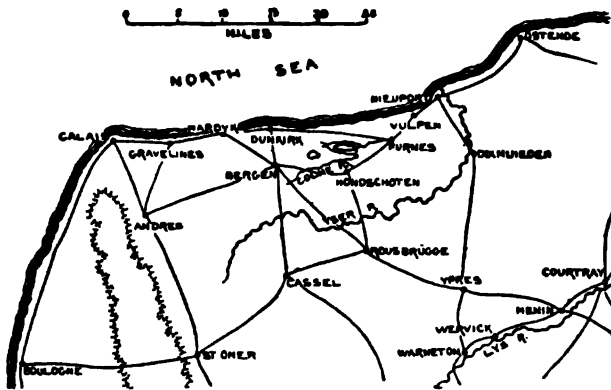
XXXIX.

CONDÉ AT DUNKIRK. SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER, 1646.

THE duke of Orleans commanded the French in the Netherlands in 1646. Under him Condé served until the duke had captured Mardyck, when he succeeded to the command and undertook the capture of Dunkirk, the most important fortress on the coast. First proceeding to Hondschoten, he thence took and fortified Furnes. From here he advanced along the coast on Dunkirk, whose commander, Leyden, inundated the vicinity to prevent Condé from getting supplies. The difficulties were grave: the garrison of ten thousand men could be victualled by sea; there was danger of an army of relief coming up; Condé was put to it to get victual or material. But he made a treaty with the Dutch, who not only helped shut the place in by sea, but began a diversion against the Spaniards. He worked incessantly, and was lucky in having no serious interference from the outside. His lines and approaches were duly completed, and several sorties repulsed. On October 1 and 2 assaults were made, a footing gained in the place, and ten days later, Dunkirk surrendered. Condé then relieved Cambray, and the campaign closed.

ON account of his royal birth the duke of Orleans had been put in command of the troops operating in the Low Countries, and in 1646 Condé, though conscious of his superior ability, appears to have willingly and conscientiously served under him. The army had cautiously advanced as far as Mardyck, below Dunkirk, when Condé proposed the siege of the latter place, the most important and strongest fortress on the coast; but his chief had not the courage to undertake it. Mardyck had been captured the previous year by the duke of Orleans after a costly twenty days' siege, and had been later seized by the Spaniards in a cleverly designed and sudden attack, with merely nominal loss; now, after opening lines and trenches, and after several bloody sorties and

attempts to relieve the town from the outside, the French managed to cut the place off from Dunkirk, and took it; upon which the duke, despairing of further successes, and satisfied with his few laurels, prudently retired to Paris to celebrate his triumph, and Condé received command of an exhausted army of ten thousand men. With this handful he undertook the proposed operation against Dunkirk, to reduce which he had to contain the large Spanish army, beat the marquis of Caracena, — who lay in the way, intrenched



Vicinity of Dunkirk.

within a network of canals and rivers, — capture Furnes, and hold the sea against a Spanish fleet. The communication in this singular country is mostly by canal; the roads run along the dikes; the rivers are largely turned into artificial waterways; and campaigning is correspondingly difficult. The region between Mardyck and Nieuport is entirely cut up by small streams and canals; it is well adapted for defense, difficult for the offensive.

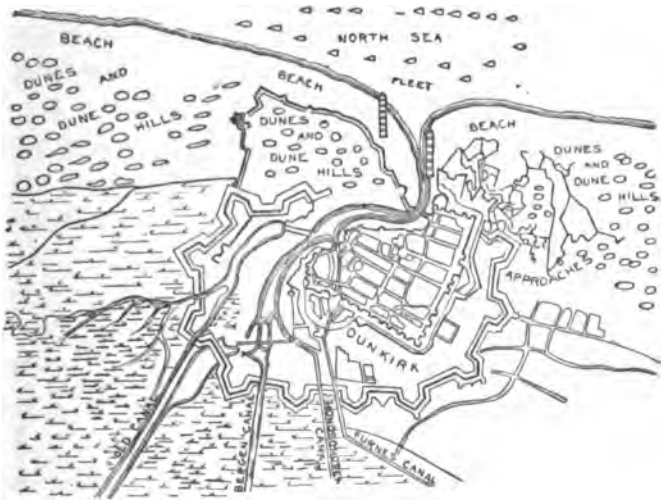
In pursuance of his bold plan, Condé marched September 4 to Hondschooten, where he deposited his heavy train. His first objective was Furnes. To cross the several canals fed

by the Colme and held by troops as numerous as his own, he organized three columns which he himself was to sustain with the reserve, as might be needed. The first column, under Marshal Gassion, headed for Furnes and threw back the Spanish force towards Caracena at Nieuport. The second, under General Laval, marched on Gassion's left to force the line of the Colme canals, and accomplished its object with equal celerity. The third, under Villequier, was headed on Gassion's right towards Vulpen. This column met unexpected resistance, but, being properly supported by Condé, drove in the enemy, and then pushed for Furnes, which town was taken by assault, the Spanish general having declined to sustain it, though it was essential to whoever should undertake a siege of Dunkirk. It is not probable that the Spaniards anticipated so apparently foolhardy an act as an investment of that fortress.

At the council of war which Condé called, there was some desire manifested to besiege Menin in lieu of Dunkirk ; but Condé convinced his lieutenants that the latter was vastly the more important place, while the difficulty of besieging the other was equally great ; and his plan was approved by the court, to whom all such matters had customarily to be referred.

Dunkirk is built on the dunes which extend up the coast all the way from Calais. The sea bounds it on the north ; Furnes and Nieuport lie on the east ; Bergen on the south, and on the west Mardyck. The old town was fortified ; the new town lay outside. The walls were thick and flanked by huge towers ; while a brick-lined ditch one hundred and twenty feet wide was fed by canals from the river Colme. The sea, breaking in towards the town, opened a fine port, which art had made capable of holding eight hundred vessels, and its entrance was defended by an extension of the

fortifications on the dunes, and by two breakwaters on which artillery was mounted. Three great canals led out of Dunkirk, and boats could sail thither to every city of the Low Countries. The dried-herring trade had originally given importance to this city; and since its growth to wealth and power it had been captured by several of the nations in succession. Charles V. had granted it many privileges, and it was the bulwark of the Hapsburg dominion in the Nether-



Dunkirk.

lands. Its trade with the interior and by sea was immense; it maintained a number of privateers which did much damage to the French ports and commerce, and it had successfully engaged the Dutch fleet. Its garrison consisted of three thousand soldiers, four thousand sailors and three thousand trained burghers, and was under command of the marquis of Leyden, who had won great repute by defending Maestricht for three months against a large Dutch army.

The difficulties were indeed great. Condé's army of ten

thousand men was tired out, and had little left but good-will with which to undertake further work ; the vicinity of Dunkirk is a waste of sand, with none but swamp water, affording no subsistence for troops, nor indeed means of constructing works deserving the name. Furnes, the base for the siege, was not strong and might fall into the hands of the Spaniards, who, moreover, were able at any time to relieve Dunkirk from the sea or along the beach at low tide. The Dutch were uncertain and somewhat jealous allies, liable at any moment to be bought off by the enemy. Victual had to come from Calais, and the Dunkirkers had inundated the land by opening the canal-sluites, so that provision could not be hauled overland, while a tempestuous sea or the enemy's fleet might at any moment interrupt the supply coming by water. Worse than all, the season was getting late, and success must be won soon or not at all.

The duke of Lorraine was in camp on the border of Holland ; Marshals Piccolomini and Beck, with the main Spanish army, lay under the cannon of Dendermonde ; Caracena under those of Nieuport. On the other hand, the French troops believed in Condé, while the enemy was supine. The Dutch question was the most pressing, and Condé settled that by sending an able ambassador to the Hague, who so far won the assistance of the States-General that Van Tromp soon patrolled the sea near Dunkirk, and the prince of Orange undertook a diversion against the Spaniards.

Condé ordered La Ferté, who had four thousand men on the Lys, to be ready at any moment to join him ; he sent for part of the garrisons in Picardy ; the Boulognese militia was armed ; six thousand men came to him by sea and were put for rest and drill into Mardyck ; two thousand Poles recruited by Baron Sirot and one thousand English recruits were placed in Calais. All these were so posted that they could

be concentrated in twenty-four hours, and fifteen small frigates were ordered to patrol the mouth of the port of Dunkirk. Furnes was stoutly fortified under Condé's own eye, a garrison of one thousand five hundred men was put in the town, and a large supply of provision was collected there. Two weeks after the army reached Furnes, so active had been his measures that Condé advanced on Dunkirk with ten thousand foot and five thousand horse.

The leader himself with the first column took the road nearest to the enemy, along the coast; Gassion with the second marched on his left, along the canal running from Furnes to Dunkirk; Rantzau with the third marched across country towards the Colme. All the columns reached their objectives in good season.

Once quartered in front of Dunkirk, the French were in no danger of attack save from the direction of Nieuport. Gassion held the line from the sea to the middle of the dunes; next him Condé to the Furnes canal; then Rantzau astride the canal of Bergen. Villequier, with the Boulognese, held the west of the town to the sea to head off succor from St. Omer. Marshes or places controlled by the French closed the circuit. Ten Dutch men-of-war and the fifteen frigates effectually shut the mouth of the port. The canals were bridged, and a line of circumvallation begun, which consisted of a palisaded and sodded wall and a ditch, the latter twelve feet wide and six feet deep, and another similar one forty paces from the first. The highest of the dune-hills were crowned by forts mounted with suitable guns, while on the wide beach, where the low tide afforded an approach, the defenses were held in place by a multitude of piles, left open to admit the waves. Rations were brought by the canals, and as this means was insufficient and the country roads had to be utilized, the inundation was arrested by driving piles at

the mouths of the sluices, backing these up with huge stones, and then stopping the whole with a prodigious mass of earth. All useless horses and men were sent to the rear, and troops were moved from place to place as most needed. The distribution of rations, in which it was essential to economize, was made under Condé's own eye, for enough victual could not be got up, on account of the bad weather at sea and the deep roads on land. The men soon felt the lack of good food; and the bad weather and absence of material made it impossible suitably to house them.

In five days from arrival of the army the lines were done; and trenches were at once opened. Seeing that the health of the men could not long be kept up under the existing conditions, Condé pressed the siege with vigor, determining wisely to sacrifice men in assaults rather than lose an equal number by disease. He made a careful reconnoissance of the place, and concluded to open two approaches: one, which he was to conduct in person, covered the last bastion towards the sea on the east side; the other was directed at the horn-work north of it under the two marshals. This was executed on the night of September 24-25, and sixty guns in all were mounted.

Next day, the marshals delivered a fierce attack on a dune-hill near the horn-work, and captured it; but Leyden made gallant efforts to retake it, and sharp fighting, lasting twenty-four hours, with heavy loss, resulted. At the approaches of Condé fighting was carried on daily with great determination; Leyden was active, and as fast as the French gained one point, they found fresh works to encounter; behind every breach they uncovered a demi-lune.

Meanwhile the Spaniards had concentrated their several armies, but they delayed action in the belief that the difficulties of the siege and the unfavorable elements would drive

Condé from his task without their interference. After a careful reconnoissance of the French position, moreover, the Spanish commanders found the works too strong to make it wise to attack them ; and the fact that the prince of Orange was learned to be preparing a diversion to assist the French compelled them to carefully consider their plans. An attack on Furnes was proposed ; but the works at this place proved, on reconnoissance, to be likewise too strong to promise success. The unenterprising Spanish commanders eventually deemed it best to resort to relieving Dunkirk by sea ; but this project being attempted, also failed ; for no sooner had the pilots caught sight of the Dutch and French squadrons cruising in the offing than they sought refuge in flight.

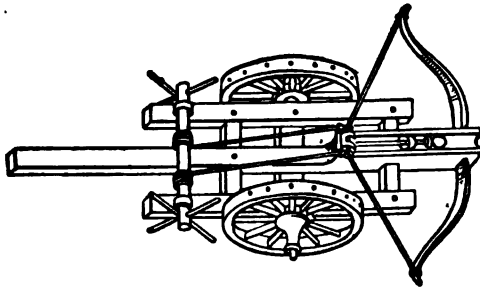
On the night of October 1-2 a serious assault was made both on the bastion and the horn-work, and a lodgment was effectuated. Three days later the Spaniards made an attempt to break through the French lines near the beach, but failed. Leyden now saw that the end was approaching ; he listened to proposals, and on October 11 he capitulated with the honors of war. He had made a noble defense, but his friends on the outside had acted with a pitiful lack of vigor. Condé could ascribe his success to their indolence and want of common motive, as much as to his own energy.

After this splendid triumph Condé undertook to relieve Courtray, which, lying as it did in the midst of the enemy's forces, needed a convoy of victual and powder to enable it to hold out. He sent the material down the Lys to Wervick by water, where it was discharged in such shape as to be quickly loaded on horses and carts. Shortly after midnight on the day appointed, the column of cavalry destined for the expedition was ready ; each horseman took a bag behind his saddle ; the rest was laden on carts, and the column advanced between Menin and Ypres, in each of which places the enemy

had forces. Before he had marched many leagues, the duke of Lorraine and Piccolomini came out to dispute his passage, but Condé held himself so compact and ready that, barring a rear-guard fight, which fell out to the advantage of the French, no serious attempt was made. The prince entered Courtray without the loss of a man.

The return trip might be none the less perilous ; for Lorraine and Piccolomini chose the best positions to cut Condé off, along whatever road he might choose. The column returned by the same route ; and Condé's countenance was so firm, he marched with so much good order, and held himself so ready for a combat, that the allied generals left him free exit.

Beyond this handsome feat, nothing was done this year in the Netherlands which deserves especial mention. Condé's operations kept him away from the German theatre and left Turenne freehanded.



Crusader's Cannon.

XL.

TURENNE AND WRANGEL. 1646-1647.

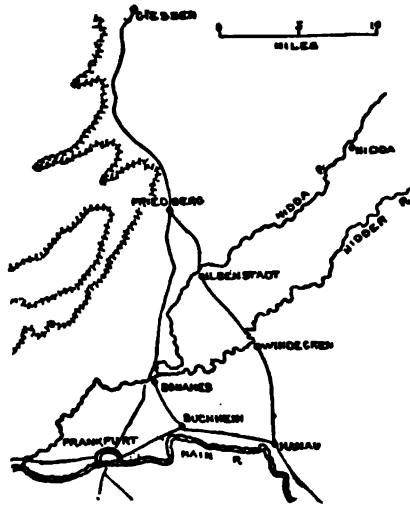
IN 1646 Turenne and Wrangel conducted a joint campaign. After some noxious delays due to political scheming of the rival courts, the French and Swedes joined in the Cologne district and advanced on the imperial army, which, under the archduke, lay on the Nidda. Arrived in presence, Turenne made a handsome movement around his opponent's left flank, and, cutting him off from his base, advanced to the Danube. Thus compromised, after an attempt to march north, the archduke followed. The allies crossed the Danube and besieged Augsburg, until the archduke returned and drove them off, taking post at Kirchheim. Here the allies again made a brilliant movement around the imperial left and marched on the interior, causing the Bavarian troops to separate from the imperial, and the elector was forced into a peace. In 1647 the emperor was quite alone; but the political necessity of not allowing the empire to be crushed resulted in withdrawing Turenne and Wrangel from the completion of their work of 1646. Turenne returned to the left bank of the Rhine, and, after suppressing a mutiny among his German troops, confined himself under Mazarin's orders to minor operations in the Netherlands. In 1648 he again joined Wrangel, who meanwhile, single, had been forced back to the Weser.

THE campaign of 1646 in Germany, save an early interruption by Mazarin, was conducted on Turenne's own plan, in connection with the Swedish general Wrangel. The latter was operating in Hesse and lower Saxony; Turenne proposed to join him, and to manœuvre in one body against the imperial army, half of which consisted of Bavarians, and which until now had usually stood and operated between them. This was a soundly conceived plan, looking to concentrated instead of scattering operations, and for a wonder Mazarin approved it. It was agreed with Torstenson and Wrangel

that the Swedes should march by way of Hesse and the French by way of Nassau, to join hands. Turenne, who had wintered in the Rhine-Moselle region, concentrated in May, and was on the point of building a bridge of boats at Bacharach to cross the Rhine, when Mazarin suddenly forbade this movement, on the plea that the Bavarians had promised not to unite with the imperialists if the French would remain on the left bank of the Rhine; and much as he disapproved the orders, Turenne was bound to obey. He saw through the promise, which the Bavarians had only given as a ruse; for they did unite with the imperialists and move against the Swedes with scarcely a semblance of delay, taking post beyond the Main. This treachery again brought Mazarin's orders for action, but it altered the entire plan of campaign. The junction of French and Swedes must now be made by a circuit, for it was impossible to accomplish it by crossing at Bacharach. Turenne was compelled to throw a garrison of several regiments into Mainz, ford the Moselle some twenty miles above Coblenz, move through the electorate down to Cologne, and thence on Wesel and east to Lippstadt, keeping Wrangel apprised by couriers of his whereabouts. All this consumed more than a month of hard marching and much negotiation with neutral states, and Wrangel was meanwhile compelled to maintain himself by a system of manœuvres and intrenched camps, which, relying on the fact that field-works were rarely attacked at that day, he very cleverly did, and thus saved himself from being drawn into a general engagement.

When the enemy learned that Turenne was near at hand, they went into camp. Joining at Giessen, the allies had seven thousand infantry, ten thousand cavalry and sixty guns, with which they advanced to the vicinity of the enemy, but did not see their way clear to an attack. The imperial

army was under the command of Archduke Leopold William, and lay behind the Nidda in a strong position near Ilbenstadt. The allies camped near Friedburg. After a short delay for reconnoitring and preparation, they developed the plan of moving around the enemy's left, leaving Frankfort on their own left, and through the hill country to Heilbronn, thus forcing the imperialists back, or perhaps cutting them off from the Main, the Neckar and the Danube. This, on due consideration, proved to be too much of a circuit, and the allies shortly adopted another route with the same object in view. About the middle of June they sent fifteen hundred cavalry to seize the passage of the Nidda at Bonames, and so soon as this was done they moved at daylight



Nidda Operation.

one day by their right around the left of the archduke to the Bonames ford. The archduke, unaware of what they intended, put his men under arms, but did not attack them on the march: it took many generations to teach soldiers the advantage of falling on a marching column. The allies crossed the Nidda, drove back Werth's cavalry, and reached Buchheim the same day. From here they marched on the morrow to Windecken on the left bank of the Nidder, a confluent of the Nidda, and by taking and occupying it in force, cut the enemy off from access to the Main, except by a difficult circuit.

Thus separated from Franconia, Swabia and Bavaria, the archduke took a bold step and determined to move into the Hesse and Cologne district; if followed, to go as far as Westphalia, and thus draw Turenne and Wrangel away north and relieve the imperial lands from invasion. But this manœuvre was of no avail, for while the archduke started northerly on his errand, Turenne and Wrangel, guessing his intention, marched to Aschaffenburg, crossed the Main, — Turenne calling in his Mainz garrison, — and moved southward. There are few things which show the able soldier more than the power to retain his initiative, and to pay so much heed only to the enemy as will suffice for safety, and not so much as to weaken his own plans. This manœuvre had been beautifully planned as well as admirably executed. It was, says Napoleon, “plein d’audace et de sagesse.”

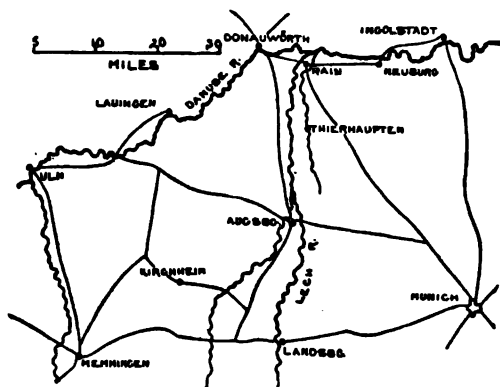
The allies had now no more to fear from the imperial army. To cover the country more effectually, they marched in two columns a number of miles apart, the French by way of Schorndorf and Lauingen, and the Swedes by Nördlingen and Donauwörth, captured and garrisoned these towns, crossed the Danube, and found themselves in a rich and plentiful country, where they could victual their troops to great advantage, and had the enemy’s land at their mercy.

From the Danube Turenne sent a detachment of five hundred men to Augsburg, and was himself about to move on the place, when Wrangel, who had crossed the Lech, and in the blockade of Rain had met with stubborn resistance, called for aid. Turenne moved on Rain, whose capture his presence assured, but he thereby forfeited his chance to take Augsburg, which the enemy meanwhile occupied with a force of fifteen hundred men from Memmingen. The archduke, moreover, gained time by this delay to return to the Danube and Lech from his attempted diversion north. It was an

error on Turenne's part not to capture Augsburg first, and then to march to the assistance of Wrangel, who could just as well have waited. Rain once captured, Turenne and Wrangel determined to withdraw to the left bank of the Lech, and to undertake the siege of Augsburg; but though their siege operations were as rapidly and skillfully pushed as without siege-guns they could be, and though they did indeed, at a loss of five or six hundred men, advance to the main ditch, the archduke got back through Franconia and the Upper Palatinate, and before they could reduce it, reached Augsburg by the right bank. Augsburg was then a short distance from the Lech, and the space and works between the town and river were made quite untenable by the enemy's heavy artillery. Though the marshals sought to drive the enemy away from his position, they were unable to do so, and the archduke forced the allies, by his constant and well-directed fire, from the siege and back to Lauingen, where they fortified a camp as well as strengthened the town defenses.

Having gained so much, the archduke moved across the Lech and out on the road to Memmingen. Turenne and Wrangel believed that he was aiming at Ulm, Tübingen and Heilbronn, so as to pass around their right, manœuvre them from their rich holding about Lauingen, and push them back to Franconia. This would have forfeited the results of the entire campaign, and have left them no satisfactory winter-quarters, nor the chance of accumulating material so as to afford promise of doing better in a new one. Moreover the imperial army was much superior in numbers, and better provided for. The allied generals determined to move straight at the enemy despite that they were not well equipped, and to attack or manœuvre in his front as circumstances warranted; for the whole German campaign depended on what they should now do. They moved from Lauingen Novem-

ber 5 towards Memmingen, and next day after reaching it, on the enemy's camp at Kirchheim, which they reconnoitred. The fact that this camp was so well protected by marshes and ravines in front that it could not be attacked with success led to a superb manœuvre. Leaving two thousand cavalry in their front to hold them there, the allies moved, November 7, unnoticed past the enemy's left to Landsberg, in the archduke's rear, captured the Lech bridge at that point and all the imperial magazines in the place, which had



Kirchheim Operation.

but one hundred men as garrison, and projected a column of three thousand cavalry against Munich. They had completely cut the archduke off from Bavaria, which now lay open to their good pleasure. Thunderstruck, the archduke was compelled to follow.

This brilliant proceeding threw the elector of Bavaria into a ferment of uneasiness, created dissatisfaction with the management of the archduke and the Bavarian generals, and was the origin of the elector's making a separate peace with France. Cut off from his supplies, the archduke had difficulty in regaining his own base by crossing the Lech near

Thierhaupten. The imperial troops moved to Ratisbon, leaving the Bavarians to defend their own land,

"Les manœuvres pour déposter l'archiduc de son camp entre Memmingen et Landsberg," says Napoleon, "sont pleins d'audace, de sagesse et de génie; elles sont fécondes en grands résultats; les militaires les doivent étudier." This praise is well earned; the march on the Nidda and the march on Landsberg combine to make this campaign a marked one.

The allies remained three weeks on the right bank of the Lech, and then, November 23, moved to Memmingen and into extended winter-quarters; the French spread out as far as the Danube, and the Swedes towards the Lake of Constance. The French captured the castle of Tübingen, the Swedes took Bregenz and Meinau, but they failed to win Lindau. During the winter, however, Turenne and Wrangel, in a raid with six thousand cavalry, beat the enemy, who had rendezvoused at Rain, in a smart action, with heavy loss.

The Congress of Ulm now assembled. In the following spring, March, 1647, a treaty was made by which the elector of Bavaria cut loose from the emperor, and Lauingen, Gündelfingen, Hochstädt, Ulm, Donauwörth, Memmingen and Überlingen remained in the hands of the allies. This was to forestall a fresh alliance between the elector and the empire.

This campaign is remarkable in several ways. The junction of the Swedish and French armies in the presence of the imperial forces was admirably managed. The campaign was conducted by two armies, under two generals who remained in accord throughout, — a noteworthy circumstance, fit prototype of the coöperation of Marlborough and Eugene. The allies were weaker than the archduke, but they twice outmanœuvred him. The decisive nature of the campaign was shown by its results, — the separation of Bavaria from the

empire. The credit of the campaign is no doubt due to both Wrangel and Turenne. Napoleon only praises Turenne, but Wrangel must be given a share of the credit. Though in no sense Turenne's equal, he was a soldier beyond the average. No doubt Banér and Torstenson had done more brilliant work; but they were not fortunate enough to be associated with a man like Turenne, and their labors came to naught.

The emperor was now alone. He had no allies left. The Swedes and French were decidedly superior. The latter had in the field fourteen thousand infantry and twenty thousand cavalry; the emperor but five thousand foot and six thousand horse, under the Archduke Leopold. This was a small showing compared to what Wallenstein and Tilly had made; but the whole of Germany was exhausted, both in men and means.

Turenne and Wrangel were ready to reap the advantages of their last year's operations. But the policy of the French court prevented this. It would not do to permit the emperor, who was the head of the Catholic rulers, to be quite subdued. Turenne was ordered from Germany, where he would have done good work, to the Netherlands, to conduct with a limited force a slow and profitless campaign of sieges. All Turenne's protests were in vain, despite the best of reasoning. Condé had been ordered with a larger force to Catalonia, where he was able to accomplish little.

On the way to his new field of operations, Turenne had taken Höchst, Steinheim, Aschaffenburg and other places; had crossed the Rhine at Philipsburg, and marched into the country between Strasburg and Zabern. But the German cavalry, late Weimar regiments, General Rosen commanding, declined to advance further until paid six months' arrears then owing them. They had an idea that they could do better by enlisting in the emperor's service. Turenne had no

funds. The mutineers in a body, under Rosen, recrossed the Rhine. Turenne followed them with part of his force, and for several days endeavored to pacify Rosen and them. But finding clemency of no avail, he carefully laid his plans, arrested Rosen at Ettlingen, and sent him under guard to Philipsburg. Thus left without a leader, part of the mutineers gave in; part marched towards the Tauber country. Turenne attacked these, killed two hundred and dispersed the rest. Some were reorganized; some went into the Swedish service.

In quelling this mutiny Turenne had lost much time. Mazarin's policy had negatived all the utility of the French army for the year, and had practically lost the German regiments. It was typical civilian management.

There is no pretense that the management of the affairs of nations would be safer in the hands of the army commanders than in those of the statesmen. Such a theory in America would tend towards the substitution of autocracy for republicanism. Those versed in statecraft ought to be able to hold the nation's helm to better advantage than men educated solely to arms; but it is the misfortune of generals that the real or alleged necessities of the state must so often interfere with military operations; and as we are looking only at the military side of history, we are compelled at times to lay the blame of the failure of campaigns upon those statesmen who use war, as they often must, not to succeed from a purely military standpoint, but as subsidiary to their own scheming, to win or to risk loss as may at the moment be most expedient.

It is often said that our operations during the civil war were interfered with by the Washington politicians. So they were, from a soldier's point of view; but the soldier looks at things from but one side; there were many other

and weighty questions to be considered, which involved not only success in the field, but the integrity of the nation ; and it may be said that, on the whole, the political management was good ; certainly so according to the light the country's leaders then had, if not according to what shines on us now.

After this serious delay Turenne reorganized what was left of the Weimar regiments, and, sending part of his cavalry to Flanders, he moved into Luxemburg, where he was ordered to pursue a negative rôle, and to hold the enemy's attention by the capture of a few small places. This woeful policy of the prime minister placed his allies, the Swedes, in bad case. The Bavarians were again prevailed on to join the emperor ; took from the Swedes all their hard-won conquests, and forced them back to the Weser country, seizing all the territory so laboriously gotten from them by Turenne and Wrangel. Then, after all was gone, and there was danger that the balance might tip in the other direction to the disadvantage of France, Turenne received orders from the court again to join the Swedes. This well illustrates the idea of civilian management. So far as statesmanship goes, this may (or may not) have been good policy ; but from a military standpoint, how lamentable !

Turenne moved rapidly on the Main, raised the siege of Frankenthal, marched on Mainz, captured the castle of Falkenstein, crossed the Rhine at Oppenheim on a bridge of boats, and in January, 1648, went into winter-quarters in Hesse-Darmstadt. But as the Swedes were not ready in numbers or equipment for an immediate campaign, Turenne retired to Strasburg the same month.



Breech-loading Portable Gun. (15th Century.)

XLI.

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR ENDS. 1648.

TURENNE joined Wrangel in 1648 in Franconia, and after a slight disagreement as to plans, the two operated towards the Danube. Crossing at Lauingen, they followed the imperialists up to Zumarshausen, and in May drove them back to the Lech with heavy loss, despite their fine rear-guard fighting under Montecuculi. They then crossed the Lech and moved to the Isar, the enemy falling back behind the Inn. Following across the Isar, they occupied the whole country up to the Inn, which rapid river, having no pontoons, they were unable to pass. To punish the elector for last year's treachery, they devastated all Bavaria in their control. They were now on the edge of the emperor's hereditary lands; but a new imperial army arriving at Passau on the lower Inn, the allies retired to the lower Isar, whither the imperialists followed, and both sides intrenched camps. As autumn came to an end, the allies, whose bold operations had contributed effectually to the Peace of Westphalia, retired behind the Lech. During this campaign Turenne had fed his men on the country without interfering with his strategic manœuvres. In August of this year, after a fruitless campaign in Spain, Condé was transferred to the Netherlands, and defeated Archduke Leopold at Lens.

IN February, 1648, when Wrangel got ready to move and so notified Turenne, the latter, though not yet well equipped, crossed the Rhine at Mainz and joined the Swedish army in Franconia. The allies had nine thousand foot, twelve thousand horse and nearly fifty guns; not a large force, to be sure, but one whose strength lay in its commanders. Turenne frankly declared to the elector of Bavaria that he should treat him as for his late treachery he deserved to be treated; and the allies crossed the Main and followed the imperial army towards the Danube, as far as Ingolstadt, until the latter went into camp under the guns of the fortress. The

order, leaving the train behind. The orders were executed with exceptional speed ; the allied divisions reached the scene, were quickly rested, and again ployed into column ; and at 2 A. M. on May 17, they approached the enemy's lines, the French army in the lead with a van of cavalry. But, alive to their coming, the enemy had determined not to await attack, had thrown out thirty squadrons to cover their movements and protect the train, had burned their camp, and were already in full retreat. Count Holzapfel and Count Gronsfeld, who commanded the imperial and Bavarian forces respectively, after the experience of 1646, had feared to be cut off from Augsburg by another turning manœuvre, and had marched at night, the armies in the van followed by the train. The moral effect of the 1646 operations had already half won this campaign. The enemy's rear-guard was under command of Montecuculi, with but sixteen hundred horse, eight hundred musketeers and four guns. The route lay through a wooded and marshy territory, and the train could be got forward only with extreme difficulty. Following hard upon, the French van of cavalry at 7 A. M. fell sharply on the rear-guard, under Montecuculi, who, though reinforced by about one thousand men under Holzapfel, and though holding his own with great ability and fierce determination, was forced back in confusion. Count Holzapfel was killed, and Montecuculi barely escaped capture.

The French thus kept the rear busy while Wrangel sent his horse forward on either flank of the marching rear-guard column. The main army was prevented by the laboring train from coming back to the assistance of the rear-guard, and of this whole body of infantry, thirteen hundred were taken prisoners, while the rest dispersed ; eight guns and a number of standards and wagons were captured. The horse cut its way through to the main body. At night the imperial army,

hard pressed by the allies, took position in much confusion behind the little river Schmutter. Turenne and Wrangel endeavored to force the passage, but they had no guns, and it was stoutly defended by Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg, who held his men together under extremely severe losses. As the troops and artillery had not yet got up, the attack was put off till daylight next day, May 18, the enemy meanwhile being cannonaded by what guns happened to be on hand. But during the night the enemy, now under Fermor and Gronsfeld, retired behind the Lech to the protection of the guns of Augsburg, having lost twenty-three hundred men in killed, wounded and prisoners, eight guns, six standards and three hundred and fifty-three wagons. The loss of the allies was also heavy. The enemy would scarcely have lost more men in a general engagement had they stood their ground; and the allies had accomplished much with small means.

The main Franco-Swedish column had not been able to follow, and the bulk of the fighting had been by the van. As a sample of stout pursuit it was excellent, and the defense by Montecuculi during the retreat, and that of Ulrich at the Schmutter, were of the best.

The allied marshals rested a day, — May 18, — to enable the main force to come up, and on the next Turenne and Wrangel moved on Rain. The Bavarians burned the bridge over the Lech, and took up the old position Tilly had held sixteen years before against Gustavus Adolphus; but after some cannonading they retired at night on Munich. The allies restored the bridge, crossed the Lech, leaving two thousand men to hold the bridge, and, sending one thousand horse to harass the enemy's retreat, moved on Neuburg, and then, June 12, on Freising on the Isar. The Bavarians fell back behind the Inn, sending strong infantry detachments to Munich and Ingolstadt and garrisoning Wasserburg, while

the elector personally went to Salzburg and thence to the Tyrol. The allies now crossed the Isar, occupied Landshut, broke the bridge at Freising — preferring to use that at Landshut — and pushed towards Wasserburg, which, however, proved to be so strongly garrisoned that it could not be well taken. Marching downstream to Mühldorf to cross the Inn, they were again balked, having no pontoons, and the river being exceptionally wide, deep and rapid, with a rocky bed, in which piles could hardly be driven.

Turenne and Wrangel had now manœuvred and forced their way to the very boundary of Upper Austria, had taken possession of all Bavaria, and had rationed their troops on the country. As a lesson to the elector for his treachery in breaking his treaty, all the overrun portion of Bavaria was devastated. This was done with no light touch, and the Bavarians, who sixteen years before had prayed openly in their churches to be delivered from the “Swedish Devil,” found in Turenne and Wrangel a foe as bitter and unrelenting as Gustavus Adolphus had been upright and placable.

If they should cross the Inn, the allies would find a great deal of support, for the population of Upper Austria, as for many years it had been, was still in the mood for revolt from the emperor. This advance they were prepared to make and no doubt would have done, but for a sudden turn in fortune, which, as usual all through the Thirty Years’ War, seemed to protect the hereditary possessions of the emperor. Field-Marshal Piccolomini and General Enkevort early in July had assembled ten thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse with a lot of guns at Passau and Wilshofen, had crossed the Danube and moved to Eggenfelden, on the allies’ left flank, which stood near Mühldorf. Thus threatened, Turenne and Wrangel found it essential to retire, which they did via Landshut to Dingolfing on the lower Isar, where they in-

trenched a camp and built a bridge. Piccolomini and Enkevort did the like near Landau, a dozen miles below.

The habit of intrenching was with Turenne, who preferred the offensive in all cases, a mere relic of the system of the day. We shall, in the next century, see it disappear in favor of battles in the open; and yet even Marlborough and Eugene did not quite cut loose from the habits of thought they had inherited.

In this situation the rival armies remained till midsummer. About this time the imperial forces endeavored to entrap a Swedish outpost at a village near their camp, and made a threat as if to approach the allies. But nothing came of either attempt. There were one or two attacks on the other's position by either army, — particularly one on the enemy's camp by Wrangel with his batteries; but they were fruitless.

Piccolomini was now compelled to send reinforcements to Bohemia to save Prague, which had been raided by Königsmark from the Franco-Swedish army, and Turenne and Wrangel by the end of August had exhausted the victual of the vicinity of Dingolfing. They therefore moved via the Landshut bridge to Moosburg back of the Isar; the enemy followed and took up a new camp at Landshut. For more than a month — till the end of September — inactivity reigned. Then Turenne and Wrangel retired behind the Lech, and on October 11 established themselves between Augsburg and Landsberg at Schwäbisch-München. Hence they marched to Donauwörth, crossed the Danube and moved on Eichstädt. The imperial army followed from the Isar, as far as the Lech.

Shortly after came the Peace of Westphalia, to which Turenne's and Wrangel's operations had much contributed. Turenne took up winter-quarters in Swabia, and Wrangel near Nürnberg.

This last joint campaign of Turenne and Wrangel worthily crowned the Thirty Years' War. After those of Gustavus Adolphus, this and the campaign of 1646 are the most noteworthy and the most productive of results. The allied generals, says Napoleon, moved through the length and breadth of Germany with a rapidity and decision unknown to war at that time. Their success came from their ability and proper method, from the strong feeling for the offensive which characterized Turenne, and from the boldness and intelligence of their every step.

The armies were fed largely on the country. This was possible from their small number, and the usual friendliness of the population during the advance. But in retreat the allies still found the magazines they had prepared absolutely essential, and they mixed the system of requisitions with that of magazines in an effective manner. Since Gustavus' time, the magazine system had been the only one in use. Gustavus' victualing was done by magazines and regularly-paid-for contributions from the territories traversed. Turenne made war nourish war, — a method which is, however, incompatible with the humanity inculcated by Gustavus. From a military aspect, the one system contributes to speed, the other to security. Turenne had small armies to feed, and could easily live on requisitions from the surrounding towns. The true system is a proper combination of the two: magazines at proper places on the line of advance and at places of possible refuge, and requisitions — paid or enforced — on forward and flank movements and on retreats.

The last years of the Thirty Years' War were mixed up with the war of France against Spain in such a manner as materially to enlarge the theatre and scope of operations. The war was no longer one of Protestant Germany against the Catholic emperor to secure freedom of worship. It be-

came a general European war, waged between France and the Hapsburgs for the supreme control of European politics.

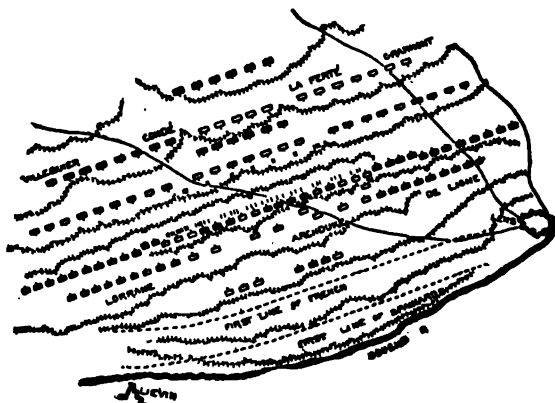
France was shortsighted in many ways. She constantly divided her forces so as, for instance, in 1635 to have armies in Germany and the Netherlands, in northern Italy, in the Valteline, in Roussillon and in Spain, not to count immense resources spent upon the navy. The result naturally was that instead of accomplishing results so that a peace with Spain should accompany the general Peace of Westphalia in 1648, the Franco-Spanish war dragged along a dozen years more.

Almost the only noteworthy operations during this whole period occurred in 1635 to 1637 in the Valteline, where the Duke of Rohan defended that territory with a small force against Spanish troops advancing from northern Italy, and against an imperial army which sought to join the former by way of the valley of the Adda. As a sample of mountain warfare, these operations deserve study.

In 1647 Condé was sent to Catalonia, where he failed in the siege of Lerida, owing to lack of men and material. The operations have no especial interest, save to recall those of Cæsar on the same terrain. The great Roman won, as he always did, in the end; the Frenchman lost; but it is perhaps no blot on a captain's record to fail in Spain, that graveyard of military reputations. It needed the genius that inspired a Hamilcar or a Hannibal to succeed in such a country.

In 1648 Condé was again in the Low Countries, and at the end of May took the town of Ypres after a siege of two weeks. His biographers make much of many of Condé's operations which wear, on the whole, an air of triviality; and without underrating this great soldier, it is noticeable that much of Condé's best work was done when associated with

Turenne, and his worst when opposed to this commander. Later in the year Condé won a battle at Lens over Archduke Leopold. The civil turmoils of the Fronde had begun, and the Spaniards believed that a great battle won would give them a permanent footing in France, if not indeed access to the capital. The archduke had eighteen thousand men and thirty-eight guns, and the army was really commanded under him by Baron Beck. He had, after taking the town of Lens, marshaled his line facing northerly, with the right leaning on that place, and the forces posted on high and excellent defen-



Battle of Lens.

sive ground. He hoped that Condé would attack, as he had at Allerheim, and in such case felt confident of success. But Condé, who was approaching from the Ypres and Dunkirk country, and who had but fourteen thousand men, of which six thousand were horse, and less artillery, was too circumspect to blindly attack; though he drew up in line, he declined an assault, and strove by every means to lure his opponent down into the plain. The armies lay in parallel order; the day of grand-tactics had not come. Finding that his efforts produced no result, Condé determined to fall back for

forage and victual to La Bassée, north of Lens, and at day-break on August 20 he moved to the rear in six columns. Thus tempted, Beck sallied out with his light horse and attacked the French, badly defeating the cavalry rear-guard. Condé answered with his heavy cavalry; but this, too, after a preliminary success, was beaten back. Under cover of this engagement, and seeing that he could do no less, Condé faced about, and drew up on the heights half way between Lens and Neus, a village on the road to La Bassée, meanwhile essaying a charge in person to extricate his heavy horse, which was hard pressed. Though ill delivered and driven back, the general result of the entire series of combats was to give Condé time to marshal his line; and what was really a lost opening had induced the Spaniards to leave their advantageous post in the expectation of improving a victory already half won. The cavalry which had been beaten Condé wisely put in second line, and then advanced to attack the archduke, who still lay on higher ground than the French, but not as favorably as before. The cavalry lines which opened the battle came into very close contact, — four paces, say the old records, — before a pistol shot was fired. Then the horsemen clashed, and while the foot in the centre of each army advanced, the squadrons swayed to and fro in the usual confusion of a parallel battle. Finally, on both wings, the French horse won the day, and was able to turn inward on the Spanish foot, with which the French *corps de bataille* was already fiercely engaged.

The battle was gained. The enemy lost four thousand killed, and six thousand prisoners. The rest of the army broke up, and nearly all the officers, — some eight hundred, — all the guns and one hundred and twenty standards were taken. Lens made a fourth splendid victory in Condé's neck-lace of gems, though it was by impulsive fighting and not

manœuvring that it was won. It checkmated the Spanish efforts for the year. Beck died of his wounds.

The operations from the battle of Lützen to the Peace of Westphalia redound almost as much to the glory of Gustavus Adolphus as those which he himself conducted in Germany. The manœuvres of his successors were indeed brilliant, but they lacked the solidity and the results of those of the great Swede. What Gustavus did stayed done; and it was he who built the foundation of the structure of Protestant success in Germany. A century of operations such as those which preceded and succeeded his could not contribute as much to the cause as did his manœuvres in the few months he remained upon the theatre of war. It was exhaustion pure and simple which put an end to the Thirty Years' War; that the end was in favor of Protestantism was solely due to what Gustavus had done.

The Peace of Westphalia was the fruit of negotiations which dragged on from 1643 to 1648. Sweden received, as a fief of the empire, all western Pomerania, Stettin, Garz, Damm, Gollnow, Wollin and Usedom in eastern Pomerania, Wismar, the secularized bishoprics (not the city) of Bremen and of Werden, and an indemnity of five million rix dollars. She became a member of the Diet with three votes. France received outright (not as a fief of the empire) Metz, Toul, Verdun, Pignerol, Breisach, about all Alsace, and the right to garrison Philipsburg. Strasburg remained free, as did some other towns. Hesse-Cassel got Hersfeld, Schaumberg, the fiefs of the foundation of Minden and six hundred thousand rix dollars. Brandenburg was indemnified for her loss of Pomerania by the bishoprics of Halberstadt, Minden and Camin, and by Magdeburg after the death of August of Saxony. Mecklenburg and Brunswick received small territorial rights.

The secular and ecclesiastical affairs of the empire were rearranged so as to place Catholics and Protestants on a substantial equality; and the ownership of ecclesiastical estates was to remain forever as it existed January 1, 1624. The Austrian and Bohemian Protestants gained nothing; but elsewhere freedom of worship was fairly well established. The imperial courts in the several Circles were to be equally divided between Protestants and Catholics.

The peace was guaranteed by France and Sweden.



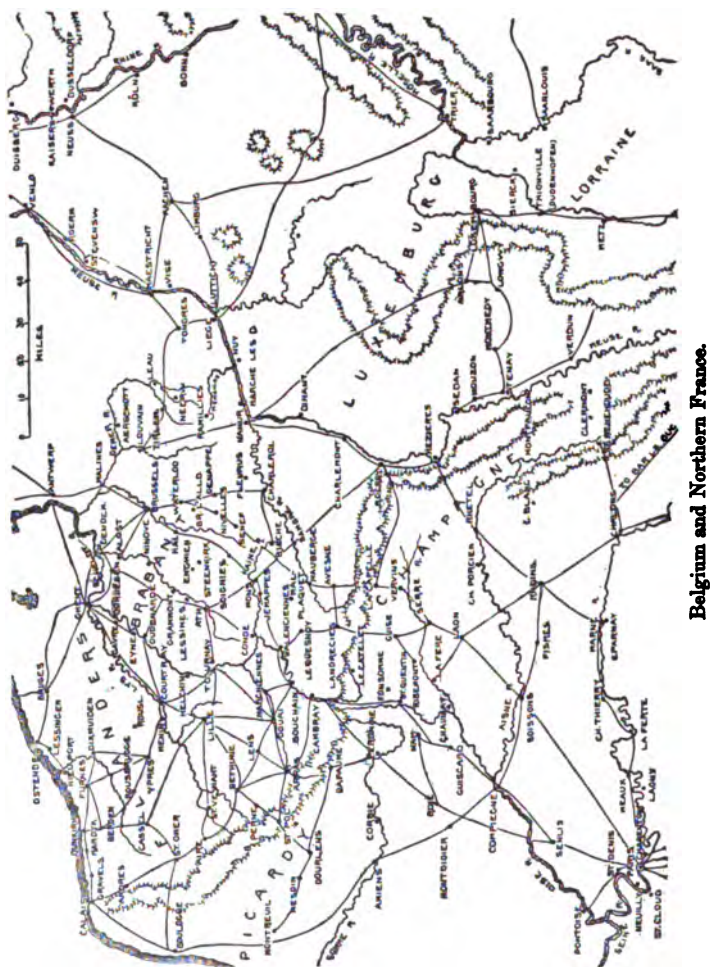
Three-barreled Carbine. (16th Century.)

XLII.

CONDÉ AGAINST TURENNE. 1650-1656.

THE war between France and Spain went on, and the civil war of the Fronde grew to larger proportions. Condé was imprisoned, and Turenne, seeking aid from Spain, led an army into France from the Netherlands. After some insignificant operations the French laid siege to Rhétel, and Turenne attempted to relieve it; but he was met by Duplessis and seriously defeated. In 1651 Turenne returned to Paris under an amnesty. In 1652 the Fronde broke out again, and Condé took up arms against the court, while Turenne defended it. The court moved from place to place, under escort of the army, while the princes held Paris, and a campaign of manœuvres south of the capital resulted. The duke of Lorraine was called in by Mazarin as an ally, but he went over to Condé, and was got rid of only after he had collected much plunder in France. La Ferté and Turenne later transferred the war to near Paris, and in July a battle was fought in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, in which Condé was only saved by being admitted through the gates into the capital. Later he was crowded to the frontier, and the court returned to Paris. In 1653 Condé was in the Spanish service and Turenne opposed him; Condé made several attempts to march on Paris, but Turenne cleverly kept between him and the capital, and checkmated all his efforts.

DESPITE the Peace of Westphalia, the war between France and Spain went on, and the unhappy French were consumed not only by a harassing conflict upon their borders, but by the still more disheartening civil war of the Fronde at home. Stripped of its complex character, the Fronde was an insurrection under some of the French princes against Mazarin's government for Anne of Austria, queen regent during the minority of Louis XIV. Political difficulties during this period obliged Turenne to flee to Holland until an amnesty was declared at its close. His political course at the opening



Belgium and Northern France.

of the struggle has been much criticised ; but it was a time to try men's souls, as every civil war must do, and there were multitudes of honest men misled.

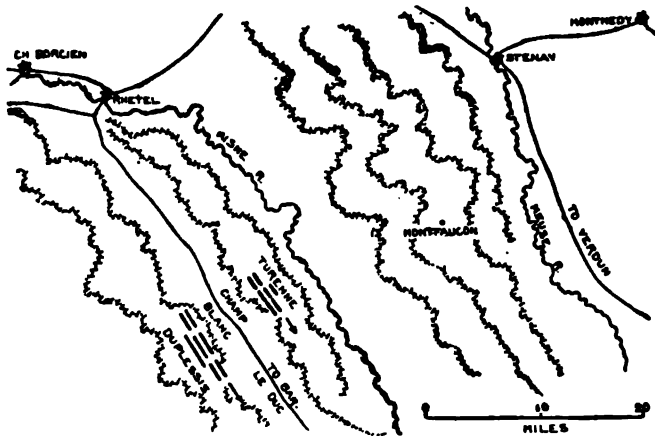
In 1650 the internal trouble grew apace ; Condé and others of like sentiments were seized and imprisoned by Mazarin in the castle of Vincennes. Turenne sought to head the

old troops of Condé at the castle of Stenay, on the Meuse, for the purpose of rescue, but, unable to gain over more than a few Frenchmen, he entered into negotiations with Archduke Leopold William, governor-general of the Spanish Netherlands, who gave him two hundred thousand thalers to raise troops, and fifty thousand thalers a month for rations, together with a personal subvention, and further agreed, in addition to what Turenne should enroll, to furnish and keep two thousand foot and three thousand horse under the latter's orders. Having reached a further understanding with the Spaniards, looking towards the forcing of a peace by Spain on Mazarin, and having made of the queen regent a respectful but fruitless demand for negotiations, Turenne led a Spanish army into France. Having, with the money furnished him, gathered together a few thousand men, and with these joined the Spanish army put on foot according to agreement, he crossed the border from the Netherlands. The Spanish idea was to invade Picardy while Turenne should invade Champagne; but Turenne insisted on marching in one body, to seize strong places in the interior, and to work in unison with the adherents of the Fronde, who had armed in Bordeaux and elsewhere. The small fortresses of Le Catelet and Guise were invested in June, but Guise could not be taken, owing to the presence of the royal French army, and to a very rainy season which made operations all but impossible. The allies drew back, a week later captured La Capelle, and thence moved to Vervins, where the archduke took command. The rival armies were of about equal strength, ten to twelve thousand foot and six to seven thousand horse. Turenne induced the Spanish army to move forward to the Aisne, taking and garrisoning Château Porcien and Rhétel, and the French army retired to Rheims. Turenne suggested the advisability of moving along the Aisne,

turning this army by the left, and marching straight on Paris to free the imprisoned Fronde leaders, Condé among them ; but the Spanish commander had not the stomach to agree to such a manœuvre, which was not perhaps as discreet as it was bold, — though indeed in its very boldness lay safety, — and refused even to cross the Aisne. The princes were transferred to another prison near Orleans. But Turenne undertook a grand reconnoissance towards Fismes with three thousand horse and five hundred musketeers, attacked ten regiments of French cavalry which were stationed there and threw them back on Soissons, capturing five hundred prisoners. The Spaniards, sending a detachment to La Ferté-Milon, at Turenne's suggestion, then marched on Fismes, to a position between the French army at Rheims and the capital ; but, for what reasons cannot be said, took no advantage of their favorable situation, further than to undertake a month's negotiations with the duke of Orleans, which eventuated in nothing. The Spaniards then retired to the east and besieged Mouzon on the Meuse. After a seven weeks' siege Mouzon surrendered, the Spanish troops retired to winter-quarters in Flanders, and Turenne remained with his eight thousand men near Montfaucon, in the hills between the Meuse and Aisne. The French army sat down idly in Champagne, and finally, in December, laid siege to Rhétel. Turenne hurried to its relief, but as he arrived too late, the place having surrendered December 13, he started to return to Montfaucon, marching by his left.

Intent on bringing Turenne to battle, the French commander, Marshal Duplessis, followed him south from Rhétel, and reached his front December 15. Though Turenne preferred to retire, he nevertheless drew up on the heights to the left of the valley route he was pursuing. Duplessis did the like on the right of the valley, and both armies in parallel

order marched at half a cannon-shot distance by the flank five or six miles along the valley. Inasmuch as he could not well avoid battle, and observing that on the French right flank there was but little cavalry, Turenne drew his own horse together and marched down into the valley to turn the enemy near the Champ Blanc. At first the operation looked like a success, as the French cavalry of the right wing was somewhat dispersed; but the second line remained firm, and Turenne's troops — mostly raw levies — grew unsteady. The



Battle of Champ Blanc.

same thing took place on Turenne's right, where an attack at first promised success and then miscarried. So soon as he perceived the weakening of Turenne's troops, Duplessis drew some cavalry from his right, brought it over to his left, and charged in with a vigor which completed Turenne's defeat. The men behaved badly, and the great French soldier was routed. He lost the bulk of his force in prisoners, several general officers, and by good luck only saved himself by a flight with five hundred cavalry south through Champagne to Bar le Duc. Here he reassembled part of his troops and

moved back of the Meuse to Montmédy, where he went into winter-quarters. Napoleon's criticism on his engaging in battle does not seem to be sound. He was justified in fighting, even though the enemy outnumbered him; in fact, he could scarcely avoid accepting battle, for Duplessis forced it on him; but luck was against him, and his men were not his old soldiers, on whom he could rely.

During this campaign Turenne was dependent on the archduke, and could not operate on his own ideas, though Leopold had nothing to do with the defeat at Champ Blanc.

In the next year (1651) Turenne returned to Paris, a general amnesty having been granted. The French princes were freed, and Mazarin was banished. Turenne sought to patch up a peace between France and Spain, but, unable to do so, he returned to France.

In 1652 the Fronde troubles again broke out, and the court was obliged to leave the capital and seek refuge with the army. Condé, who was the leader of the party of the princes, sought to induce his old brother soldier, Turenne, to join him in operating against the government of Mazarin, who had returned after a short banishment. But Turenne refused, and he and Marshal Hocquincourt, with nine thousand men each, mostly horse, were sent to operate against Condé, who had taken command of the army of the Fronde that had been under the leadership of the duke of Beaufort, and, fourteen thousand strong, lay in position between Montargis and the Loire.

Condé held Montargis, and lay near by. Turenne was camped at Briare, with Hocquincourt at Bléneau, covering the peripatetic court which was sojourning at Gien. Their cavalry was dispersed for ease of foraging. Learning that Condé was approaching in person, the two royal generals were about to concentrate their forces further to the north.

If he would strike either singly, Condé had no time to lose ; and having ascertained their situation by a spy, he made a night attack on Hocquincourt, whom, leading a small body of horse with his accustomed rapidity and success, he surprised and drove in disorder from his post. He then turned towards Briare, hoping to take Turenne unawares in the same manner. But the latter had caught the alarm, and was already in line between Ozouer and Bléneau, where he held a position he had previously reconnoitred, and which was the sole route by which Condé could advance, a defile between a wood and a marsh. Condé was checked at this point after a smart combat ; Hocquincourt, finding that he was not pursued, rejoined his colleague by a circuit, and Turenne, whose plan was to guard the court rather than conduct a brilliant offensive, retired

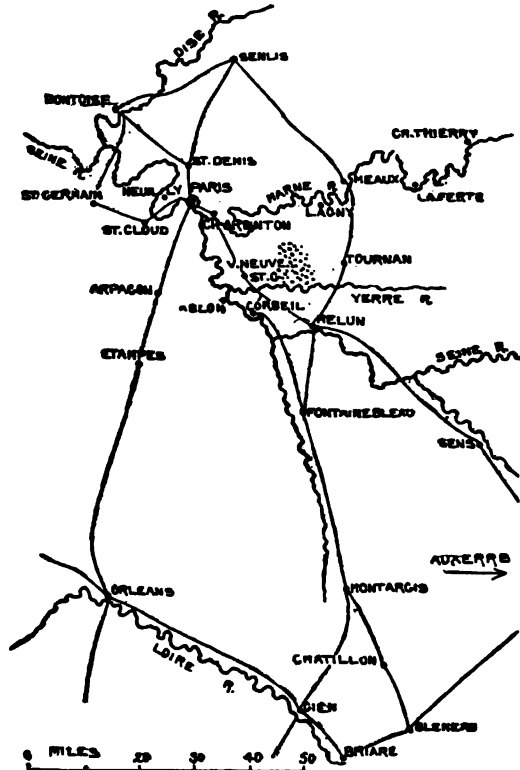


Operation of Gien.

to Gien. His total loss had been six hundred killed and six hundred prisoners, but Hocquincourt had forfeited his guns ; Condé's loss was but four hundred men. Had Condé won in this first operation, the court would have been *in extremis* ; but the prince retired to Chatillon with his army and personally went to Paris, where he arrived April 11, and, though he had accomplished naught, assumed the rôle of conqueror among his many adherents in the capital.

On learning Condé's absence, Turenne at once moved to

Auxerre. His (or Mazarin's) plan was to fix the theatre of war as near Paris as practicable. From Auxerre, by an able and rapid series of marches, Turenne kept on to Sens and Corbeil. Tavannes, in command of Condé's army, could



Paris-Orleans Country.

do nothing to arrest his movement, and when Turenne finally camped at Arpajon he had cut Tavannes from Paris and his chief. Tavannes advanced to Étampes. Thus isolated from his army, Condé, with but a few recruits, sought to place in a state of defense St. Cloud, Charenton, Neuilly and other

suburbs of Paris. Negotiations — largely underhanded — were meanwhile afoot, in which Mazarin on one side and Condé on the other acted the principal rôles, each vainly seeking to outwit the other.

Turenne kept up his activity. He attacked Tavannes during a military fête at Étampes, and did him damage to the extent of two or three thousand men ; but Hocquincourt managed his part of the enterprise so ill that Mazarin concluded to send him to Flanders, and to rely solely on Turenne, who thus assembled under his own colors twelve thousand men. Tavannes had but eight thousand.

Meanwhile Condé took St. Denis. The court went to Melun, and Turenne laid siege to Étampes. Tavannes defended the place furiously. Once out of material, he was about to surrender, when Condé, from Paris, succeeded in throwing a convoy of munitions into the town. The king sought to exert the influence of his personal presence, but in vain ; Tavannes pleaded sickness and would not appear on the walls to parley with Louis, and the town was again on the point of surrender, when the duke of Lorraine came upon the scene. This treacherous ally had been called in by Mazarin, who imagined that he could control him ; but no sooner had Lorraine safely passed the army of La Ferté than he declared for Condé, and was warmly welcomed in Paris.

It seemed as if Condé, with the duke of Lorraine's army, could now move to Étampes and deal the last blow to Turenne. But though the duke was both a knave and a fool, he was not to be easily led ; plunder was more in his line than fighting ; and his army merely passed through the land, ravaging right and left, finally reaching Villeneuve St. Georges. Mazarin began again to negotiate with him ; Turenne advanced towards him ; and on the promise of the

Turenne had moved to Lagny sur Marne to head off reinforcements for Condé, said to be approaching from the Netherlands; but finding them still far away, he preferred to attack Condé in connection with his new coadjutor. He had constructed a bridge at Epinay, and it was agreed that La Ferté should cross and fall on the left flank of Condé's camp, while Turenne should remain on the right bank to prevent his repassing the river. Condé guessed the plan when he saw the building of the bridge; and was compelled ere the two armies should be down upon him to seek refuge beyond Paris, for the fickle capital was now as fiercely opposed to him as it had been friendly, and would not allow him inside the walls. He chose Charenton, at the confluence of the Seine and Marne, as his retreat. From his camp at St. Cloud he could move thither along the left bank, or he could move through the suburbs of Paris on the right bank; and the latter being an equally short route and with better roads, he chose it,—unwisely, as the event proved. Starting out early July 5, he had already traversed the Bois de Boulogne, the Faubourgs St. Honoré, Montmartre, St. Denis and St. Martin, and the van had got beyond St. Antoine, when he perceived the head of the king's column approaching from the north. Turenne had ascertained his movement, and determined to attack him on the march, a fact which prevented Condé's reaching Charenton without a battle. It was manifest that, if he continued his march, his rear would be fallen upon; and there was no probability that so able a soldier as Turenne would permit him to cross the Marne. He was trapped, but he did the only possible thing: he recalled Tavannes, who led the column, and who managed to rejoin his chief with some loss.

Condé was indeed in ill case. In his front the king's army, thrice his size, in his rear the walls of Paris, manned

by the militia, determined to bar his entry to the town, now his only refuge. His defeat seemed so certain that the walls were crowded by Parisians, then as now eager sight-seers; while on the heights of Charonne stood the king and court to witness his inevitable destruction. Condé, as was always his mood, determined to sell his life and his cause dear. There were some intrenchments in his front which had been erected to arrest the duke of Lorraine should he attempt to

levy blackmail on Paris, and these defenses he utilized. His position was good in having concentric roads in his rear which enabled him to sustain his fighting lines; but he was in a bag; Turenne well knew it, and drew his line around him from Charonne to the river. He then organized three attacks: himself in the centre, Marquis St. Maigrin on his right, and the duke of Noailles on his left. Condé opposed him with Nemours



Battle of St. Antoine.

and Tavannes on right and left, holding himself with a small following ready to march to any point seriously endangered. Each French general knew the other: it was surely to be a death struggle.

Desirous of making a certainty of the fight, and, as was his wont, seeking to save lives, Turenne began to skirmish, while waiting for La Ferté, but Mazarin ordered him instantly to close with the prince and destroy him. He could not tell what might occur within the walls of Paris. Turenne obeyed. Condé met the first assault on the centre by a sortie, and

repulsed it ; and shortly a sanguinary struggle was engaged in all along the line. St. Maigrin carried the works in the Rue de Charonne, and despite the fire from the housetops and windows, kept on his way. Condé met his battalions at the market-place and drove them back headlong, with a heavy loss in officers. In the king's centre progress was made only at yet more severe loss, for Condé had posted troops in every house and garden, and the fire was deadly. It was a hand to hand fight at almost all points. Meanwhile Noailles carried the intrenchments in his front, and was fast closing in on Nemours, when Condé appeared upon the scene and thrust him back. But despite all Condé could do, Turenne, at the head of the royal army, still forged on ; and though several times driven back, kept steadily gaining ground. He finally reached the abbey ; and thence worked his way along the Rue St. Antoine until Condé in person stopped him west of its walls. At this point the conflict was desperate. The men fought like devils. Turenne sent in Noailles anew, and forced the fighting everywhere, while La Ferté arrived and prepared to get in Condé's rear. Condé was being netted ; his annihilation appeared certain ; when fortunately, by the intercession of Mlle. de Montpensier, daughter of the duke of Orleans, the gates of Paris were opened to him and he was allowed to pass in, as to a temple of refuge. He retired into the Quartier St. Jaques. He had lost two thousand men ; Turenne probably more.

Condé did not long remain in Paris ; he had but four thousand men left, and could not undertake to face both Turenne and La Ferté. He turned to Spain, which had had an easy task since the court had drawn the forces from the frontiers, and had recaptured many fortresses. Even Dunkirk, won at such risk and cost, had fallen to them. The archduke saw that Condé would be an exceptionally valuable ally, and dis-

patched Fuensaldegna to his aid ; and the duke of Lorraine, who was again afoot, entered Champagne at the same time that Fuensaldegna entered Picardy. And though the Spaniard yielded no hearty assistance to Condé, on the other hand the duke of Lorraine remained with the prince some time.

Alarmed at this new alliance, the court was for retiring to Burgundy and Lyon, but Turenne persuaded them that flight was the one thing to ruin the cause, and induced them to stay near the army and to move to Pontoise, behind the river Oise, north of Paris, where he assured them that he could afford them due protection.

Learning of the approach of the duke of Lorraine, Turenne advanced to Compiègne, hoping to prevent his junction with the Spaniards. He failed in his efforts, but shortly the bulk of the Flanders contingent returned home, leaving but a small detachment of cavalry with the duke of Lorraine ; whereupon Turenne retired to near Paris to prevent Condé and Lorraine from joining hands. But this project likewise failed, owing to the interference of Mazarin ; Condé and Lorraine met at Ablon, and as they considerably outnumbered Turenne, the latter was driven to resort to the defensive. He placed his army behind the forest of Villeneuve St. Georges, in the angle of the Seine and Yères, from which place, by a *coup de main*, he ousted Lorraine. The allies were unwilling to attack him in this excellent position, but sought instead to cut off his convoys and to hold him to his camp. Condé posted his forces in four corps around the royal army and in close proximity to it, but was unable to cut Turenne from access to Corbeil, where lay his munitions, despite his numerous parties sent abroad to worry him and starve him out ; and though for the moment Turenne was almost in a state of blockade, he was never out of victual. But Condé fell sick and left the army ; and the duke of Lorraine had neither the

ability nor the steadiness to carry out the plan Condé had inaugurated. Turenne managed safely to get all his convoys in, and on the fall of Montrond, which another royal army had been besieging, he received three thousand men as reinforcements.

The ill management of the campaign had disheartened the fickle Parisians as much as the eating out of the entire vicinity, and had predisposed them to any change. Turenne, who had exhausted his Corbeil magazines, now undertook a splendid manœuvre. By a night march on October 4-5, he made his way to Corbeil; thence he started, in two columns so disposed that he could at short notice wheel left into line, for Tournan, and in three days crossed the Marne at Meaux and reached Senlis; and thence to Pontoise, where lay the court. Condé, who had now been definitely abandoned by the Parisians, left the capital for Champagne, as the neighborhood of Paris could no longer sustain an army. While Condé and the duke of Lorraine retreated towards the Aisne, the king, via St. Germain and St. Cloud, reentered Paris, — a triumph for which he might thank the constancy and skill of Turenne, whose courage and steadfastness under the pressure of grave difficulties had been altogether beyond praise.

In Champagne Condé took Château Porcien, Rhétel, Mouzon and Ste. Ménéhould, and made a definite treaty with the Spaniards, by which in consideration of his serving as generalissimo of their armies, all joint conquests on French territory should be his. He now had twenty-five thousand men under his orders; success appeared about to smile upon him; but the treaty was never carried out with any show of fairness. The means of securing any such conquests as had been contemplated were afforded him but for a short period, though he was able to take Bar le Duc, Void, Commerci and many small places. These gains were in a sense losses; they left

him but a small relic of his own army, for his foot was all distributed in the captured places.

Turenne and La Ferté, after quieting the centre of the kingdom, moved forward to the Lorraine frontier, and laid siege to Bar le Duc. Condé came to its rescue, but his men became unmanageable at the capture of a small town through which they passed, and where was stored a good deal of wine, and he was driven off and returned to Clermont and thence to Stenay. The royal army took Bar le Duc, Barrois, Château Porcien and Vervins. Turenne would now have been glad to bring Condé to battle, but the latter retired into Luxemburg.

Only Condé and the duke of Orleans now held out; the Fronde was practically at an end, a work clearly due to the patient skill of Turenne.

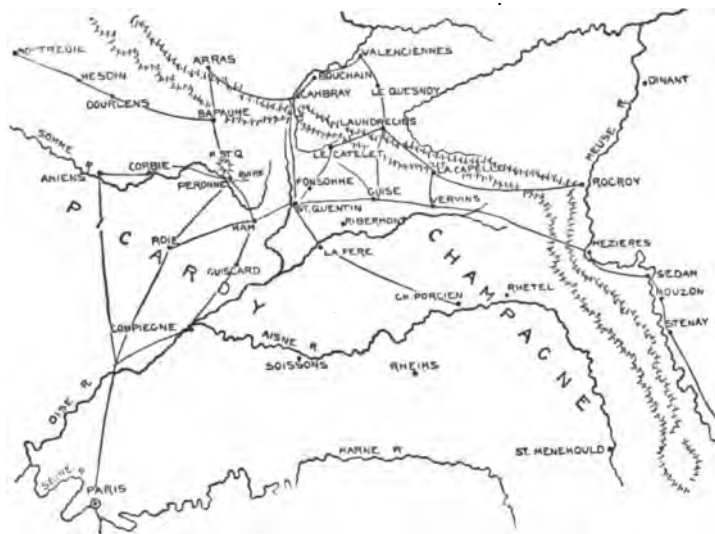
At the opening of 1658 Condé held Rhétel, Ste. Ménéhould, Mouzon, Stenay and Clermont in Champagne; in Burgundy, Bellegarde; and he had seven to eight thousand men in Champagne, as many in Guienne, and numerous secret partisans all through France. The operations at the opening of the year were lax, for both the Spaniards and French were much weakened by the never-ending wars; and the era of big armies had not yet come. It needed a new generation to grow up to furnish men. The existing generation had been killed off.

The French opened the campaign in Champagne, Burgundy and Guienne; the Spaniards were late in coming into action, owing to impoverished resources. Turenne and La Ferté, who had ten thousand horse, seven thousand foot and a few guns, took Château Porcien, which had again fallen to the Spaniards, and Rhétel. Condé's possession of Mouzon, Stenay and Rhétel kept open an entrance into France, and the capture of the latter upset his plans. In July the arch-

duke and he entered Picardy with nearly thirty thousand men, Spaniards, Germans, Italians, Lorrainers, Walloons and French refugees. Of this body eleven thousand were horse, and there were forty guns. They assembled at La Capelle, and pushed by a rapid march to Fonsomme; whence Condé hoped by lively measures to reach Paris. But Fuensaldegna, jealous of Condé's success, was purposely slow; he wished to besiege Arras, because this town, if taken, would belong to Spain and not to Condé; while Condé naturally desired to advance. The dispute consumed much time, and gave Turenne and La Ferté leisure to return from Rhétel, and to reach Ribemont via Vervins with twelve thousand men, accompanied by Mazarin and the king. Many opinions of what it was best to do were given, but Turenne had his way. "The danger is great," said he. "What we need is to concentrate all our forces, march to meet the enemy, choose the best places for defense, hold head to his superior forces without fighting him, and wait until Condé divides his forces, — as he must do if he would march on Paris, — to attack the parts in detail." Accepting this very sound advice, the court retired to Compiègne.

The French passed the Oise, and with care approached the Spaniards under Condé, who had also crossed and advanced with the Somme on their right and the Oise on their left. Along Condé's route all the undefended towns opened their gates, but he put in no garrisons, contenting himself with taking an oath of fealty, for fear of depleting his forces. This was his last chance, and he would take no risk. Rations and money he got in plenty; and by way of Ham he advanced on Roie, and took it in two days. Here Fuensaldegna refused to go further. Turenne moved to Guiscard, a wooded country, good for defense, and sat down to watch Condé. The latter proposed to turn on La Fère, but Fuensaldegna was

slow, and Turenne, guessing his intention, reached it first and garrisoned it. Failing at La Fère, Condé suggested Peronne or Corbie as a good objective, but Fuensaldegna would accept neither suggestion; he kept his eye on Arras as the preferable scheme, and Turenne, moreover, forestalled Condé by throwing a garrison into both places. Hearing, at this time, that a



Campaign on the Somme.

large convoy was on the way from Cambrai to the Spaniards, and crossing the Somme at Ham, Turenne marched by Peronne to Bapaume, and drove the convoy into Corbie for his own use. Thus met at all points Condé determined on fighting, as he had superior forces; but how should he bring Turenne to battle? He put all his skill to work. As says his biographer Desormeaux: "At one time he approached him threatening attack with his whole force, at another he moved away precipitately to entice him to decamp so that he might take him unawares on the march; again he offered him

the bait of a signal advantage which was but a trap in reality ; and again he moved on the principal towns of Picardy, as if to undertake their capture. But in vain did he display all the resources of the art, — suspicion, circumspection and wisdom guided all the steps of Turenne. It was Fabius against Hannibal." And despite his superiority of force, Condé did not dare to advance on Paris with Turenne in his rear.

The French had gone into camp at Mont St. Quentin north of and covering Peronne ; the Somme between the enemy and Turenne seemed to protect him, and neither marshal sought a cover behind intrenchments. Condé, by a circuit and a secret march, crossed the Somme and a brook which flowed in front of the royal camp, deceived La Ferté, and appeared suddenly on Turenne's right flank. At once catching alarm, the latter cleverly withdrew by his left ; Condé followed with the cavalry ready for action. Turenne took up a new and very strong position a couple of miles to the east on a wooded plain near Buire, and began to intrench. Condé followed, occupied an adjoining position, and made preparations to attack ; but the Spanish foot was late in coming up, and the favorable moment passed ; Turenne's works grew too strong to make an assault advisable. The Spanish forces remained three days in front of Turenne, seeking by skirmishing and feints to draw him out ; but Turenne's rôle was a defensive one, and Condé could accomplish nothing.

The prince then sought to invest Guise ; but the Lorrainers would not coöperate. Turenne threw two thousand men into the place, and the Spaniards remained in camp at Vermand. Hither came Archduke Leopold, but his presence added little to the military scheme and internal troubles were increased. The treaty he had made with the Spaniards gave Condé the rank of generalissimo and was supposed to invest him with the

supreme command, but to this power the archduke and Fuensaldegna sought to put a limit; they effected their purposes by inciting the several corps commanders against him; and there being a number of separate bodies composing the Spanish army, only absolute obedience to one head could keep it efficient. With the smallest opposition, no satisfactory military progress could be made; and there were never-ending quarrels. Condé returned to near St. Quentin; Turenne changed his position to Golancourt near Ham. He could not be reached, and was yet a never-ceasing threat.

Having failed to accomplish aught in Picardy against Turenne, Condé changed the theatre of war to Champagne, and resolved to besiege Rocroy. The archduke finally yielded him the command. To accomplish his end, Condé must deceive Turenne. He dispatched several small bodies to Bapaume, Dourlens, Hesdin and Montreuil, and while Turenne was speeding detachments to head off these threatened attacks, Condé moved rapidly to Rocroy and invested it. But he had more difficulty in taking it than he formerly had had in beating the Spanish army under its walls. The valorous defense of the garrison; continual rains; the jealousy of Fuensaldegna; the defection of the duke of Lorraine, who left in the middle of the siege with all his troops, and many other minor difficulties told against him. Turenne made no effort to disturb the siege, for Condé had too strongly held all the defiles which approach the plain in which Rocroy is situated. He preferred instead to take Mouzon. After a siege of twenty-five days Condé captured Rocroy, and from here he made raids all through the country, and even to the vicinity of Paris.

A new royal army now besieged Ste. Ménéhould, and Turenne and La Ferté covered the work. Condé endeavored to raise the siege, but uselessly; he was tied hand and foot

by his allies. Thus the campaign ended with Turenne's complete success, though he had but half his opponent's forces. Condé's cause was falling into ruin.

This campaign has been much praised by military critics, but it is chiefly of interest to show the difference between Condé and Turenne. By many Condé has been called the greater man; but despite his exceptional boldness and skill in battle, his restless energy, his high military capacity and his many splendid successes, he did not have the power to work against fortune which Turenne so constantly exhibited. No doubt Condé was hampered by his allies; but so, in nearly all his campaigns, was Turenne by his superiors; and yet he rose above them and accomplished results on the whole greater than any of Condé.



Portable Gun. (15th Century.)

XLIII.

ARRAS AND VALENCIENNES. 1654-1656.

As 1654 opened, while the French besieged Stenay, the allies began the siege of Arras. The French covering army had been surprised by Condé, and the garrison was small. The allied works were strong, and stretched in a circle of fifteen miles. There were two lines, with ditch and wall and wolf-pits. Turenne came to the relief of Arras while Condé and Fuensaldegna were opening the trenches, and by clever positions cut the allies off from nearly all their supplies. Stenay was taken and its force sent to Turenne, who finally determined on assaulting the Spanish lines. This was done August 24, and despite heroic fighting by Condé, proved completely successful. The Spanish army was almost broken up, and Arras was relieved. In 1655 there was some handsome manoeuvring, but to no great effect. In 1656 the French sat down before Valenciennes, a very strong city on the Scheldt, Turenne and La Ferté occupying the right and left banks respectively. Don John of Austria and Condé came to its relief, made works opposite Turenne, and inundated the country to distress the French. Building bridges over the Scheldt, Condé on July 16, at night, assaulted La Ferté's works and completely defeated him. Turenne was forced from the siege. Valenciennes was a good offset for Arras.

THE 1654 campaign opened with the besieging of Stenay — sole relic of Condé's immense possessions — by the French army under Marshal La Ferté. Turenne with fifteen thousand men was in Champagne, covering the siege and watching the frontier. The allied army of Condé and the archduke, thirty thousand strong, moved from the Netherlands and sat down to besiege Arras. To cover this fortress General de Bar had been lying near by with a flying column; but he was negligent; Condé with ten thousand cavalry cleverly interposed between him and the town, and was so speedily followed by six thousand Lorrainers that he was able to invest

it; while next day the archduke and Count Fuensaldegna arrived with fourteen thousand Spaniards, Italians and Walloons and completed the work.

Arras was one of the ramparts of France, but de Bar's failure to throw himself into the town on the appearance of Condé's column left the garrison under Montdejeu far too weak. Condé began lines of circumvallation in a circuit of eighteen miles. These consisted of a ditch twelve feet wide and a wall ten feet high, added to which, on the low land, was an outer ditch nine feet wide and ten deep; and along the whole of the line were erected redoubts every hundred paces, amply armed with guns. Between the double lines were twelve checker-wise rows of wolf-pits for defense against cavalry; and a line of contravallation was erected over much of the distance to hold head against sorties. In ten days, with the labor of the whole army and twelve thousand countrymen impressed into service, the work was completed. Though the garrison was small, the French were enterprising, and in three successive attempts they broke through the lines before they were complete, and threw six hundred horse into the town, losing, however, an equal number in the venture.

Fuensaldegna was still at odds with Condé. This feature is so constantly dwelt on by his biographers as an explanation of Condé's failure to accomplish what he set out to do, that it reads like a stereotyped excuse. That there was friction cannot be doubted, but Condé would have seemed greater had he been able to surmount this difficulty. It is success in the face of obstacles which peculiarly appeals to us; and surely Gustavus had more obstinacy among his allies to contend with than Condé ever dreamed of. Too much insistence on the interference of superiors or colleagues does not tend to raise the reputation of a general.

Condé knew Arras well, and advised two approaches, so as

to divide the enemy's efforts; Fuensaldegna chose an apparently easy but really difficult place for one approach, and insisted on so opening it; and as a result, at the end of a month he had made no progress worth mention.



Arras.

The danger to Arras induced Mazarin in July to order Turenne and La Ferté from the Meuse to its relief. Condé, learning of their march, proposed to go out and give the enemy battle; but Fuensaldegna would not budge, and on July 19 Turenne put in an appearance on the east of the place and seized Mouchi-le-Preux, cutting the Spaniards off from Douay, Bouchain and Valenciennes; and by cleverly disposing his parties, — sending a suitable detachment to Bapaume, one to Lens and one to Peronne, — was able to intercept their convoys from Cambray, Lille, Aire and St. Omer. He set up his camp between the Scarpe and the Cogeul, on ground high and

dry, and threw his works along his front from one river to the other. St. Pol alone was left to the allies: they were thus all but besieged in their own lines, and could get no victual except what was brought in by horsemen and packs. Shortly Stenay was captured, and under Hocquin-

court its besiegers moved to join Turenne, who with fifteen squadrons went out to meet him at Bapaume, took St. Pol and Mont St. Eloi on the way, and on his return placed him on the opposite side of the town, on a hill known as Cæsar's camp. This absence of Turenne was the proper occasion for an attack on the French, which Condé was eager to make; but Fuensaldegna was self-opinionated, and apparently possessed the power of enforcing his views.

The besiegers began to lack victual; they were at one time all but starved out, and had it not been for a cleverly conducted convoy of provisions from Douay, they would have been driven from the siege. For two weeks longer—the Spaniards had been seven weeks on the spot—the two armies lay in presence, exchanging only artillery fire. Turenne had reconnoitred carefully on two separate occasions. Where Condé had taken position, on the south of the town, he found it impracticable to attack, but he thought the line could be broken elsewhere. His lieutenants were not of his opinion; in fact, he was the only one of the French who saw any chance of success in the offensive. But Turenne was determined to relieve Arras, for Montdejeu was getting out of powder, as he managed to let Turenne know; and it was finally agreed that each French marshal, at the head of his own corps, should fall on the quarters of Don Ferdinando de Solis on the northwest side, and on that part of Fuensaldegna's quarters on the north nearest to Solis, these being the furthest from the quarters of Condé and apparently the weakest part of the line; and that to create a diversion there should be made three false attacks, one on Condé, one on the Lorrainers, and one opposite the archduke. The attack was set for the night of August 24–25, the eve of St. Louis.

At sunset Turenne and La Ferté broke up, and so soon as it was dark crossed the Scarpe on four bridges prepared

beforehand, leaving only the sick and non-combatants in camp. Arrived at the rendezvous given to Hocquincourt, they found him delayed by more than two hours, an unpardonable blunder, as he was close to the place of attack. The moon shortly became obscured, and the southeast wind blew towards the assaulting party. Under such favorable conditions Turenne deemed it wise not to wait for Hocquincourt. The columns of Turenne and La Ferté were each preceded by five battalions in line, to cover as wide a space as possible, and these were headed by pioneers with fascines, hurdles, ladders, picks and shovels. La Ferté was on Turenne's left; Hocquincourt was to have formed on his right. There were twenty-six thousand men in line; the enemy still had more by two thousand.

Turenne reached the foot of the enemy's works at 2 o'clock without discovery; so soon as his matches were seen by the enemy, he at once threw forward his men; and without much loss pushed his way across the first and second ditches. The enemy's fire was wild; the password, "Vive le Roi et Turenne!" always fired the French heart, and the assault was given home. The Italian foot was driven in, and Montdejeu from within Arras made a sortie to aid the attack, of which he quickly got notice.

La Ferté was not equally successful opposite Count Fuenaldega, but Turenne's success enabled him finally to push forward; and when Hocquincourt at length arrived and drove in the Lorrainers, the defeat of the Spaniards was complete; the French held half their works, and could communicate with the garrison of Arras. Not until five o'clock, it is alleged, did Condé learn of the disaster. The false attack which was to have been made on his lines was for some reason not delivered. Why the sound of the exceptional firing did not arrest his notice is not stated. It must have been a

strong wind to blow it from him. Condé at once flew to arms, headed some of his cavalry, crossed the Scarpe by way of the archduke's quarters, and fell furiously on a part of La Ferté's troops that had dispersed for plunder, and on his line which had come down into the low land, and threw them into disorder ; and had not Turenne gathered his own forces and La Ferté's artillery, taken post on the hill La Ferté had abandoned, and met Condé's stout assault in person, the result might even at this late hour have been changed ; for Condé always charged like a whirlwind. Finding himself opposed by Turenne, and being moreover taken in rear by Montdejeu from Arras and by Hocquincourt on the flank, after a two hours' gallant fight Condé was forced to retire, which he did towards Cambray with the wreck of the army. The archduke fled to Douay, where Fuensaldegna joined him. It was Condé who saved what remained of the Spanish forces.

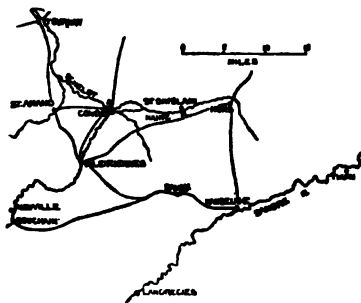
The Spaniards lost but three thousand men killed and wounded, but they left all their sixty-three guns on the spot ; two thousand train wagons, nine thousand horses and great booty fell to the French.

This was a brilliant operation of Turenne's, full of able combinations, and added greatly to his repute. Louis XIV., who with the court was at Peronne, visited Arras and conferred on him command of all the French forces here. Turenne crossed the Scheldt, intending to march on Brussels. He actually did cross the border, but Condé gathered forty squadrons and the militia of the country, and though weak in numbers, with that restless activity which was so marked a characteristic when roused to action, manœuvred athwart his path ; and Turenne, aware that there were many divisions to back Condé up in case the French advanced too far, retired to Maubeuge and then into winter-quarters in December. The operations at Arras deserve close study.

In 1655 both armies were equally strong, some twenty-five thousand men each. The French stood at Guise and Laon, the Spaniards not far from Landrecies, where Condé was in command, and at Mons, where the archduke lay. Turenne besieged and successively captured Landrecies and La Capelle. While he lay at Landrecies, Condé advised a diversion on La Fère, where the French court was at the moment resident, thinking to lure Turenne from his work; but Fuenzaldegna would not undertake the operation, and Condé contented himself with heading sundry raids into Picardy. The siege of Landrecies lasted a month; Condé could not inter-

rupt it, for Turenne had provisioned for a long siege, and to cut his convoys was of no avail.

Turenne, joined by the king, then advanced down the Sambre as far as Thuin; Condé and the Spaniards retired beyond the Scheldt and Sambre, and erected an intrenched defensive posi-



Operation on the Scheldt.

tion behind the Haine in a country so inundated that an approach to it was impracticable. The lines, strongly garrisoned, extended from Condé to St. Ghislain. The king thought it would redound to the honor of the French arms to force them; but Turenne showed how he could turn this position by a flank manœuvre and by twice crossing the Scheldt, once above Valenciennes, and again below the fortress of Condé; and his plan was adopted. The French crossed the Sambre, and via Bavay marched towards Bouchain. Masking this fortress, Turenne crossed the Scheldt at Neuville, and the enemy, who had retired to Valenciennes,

likewise crossed and established themselves with their left leaning on St. Amand. Arrived opposite them, Turenne sent Castelnau to fall on their right flank, while he attacked them in front. The enemy retired towards the fortress of Condé, and though Turenne ordered Castelnau to fall on their rear so as to hold them until he could come up, this was so weakly done that they escaped. Turenne's presence forced Condé and the Spaniards to retire toward Tournay, nullified any value their defensive line might have had, and enabled the French to lay siege to Condé.

Up to this moment Condé and Turenne, though on opposite sides, had been firm friends. But at this time Condé intercepted a dispatch of Turenne's in which the latter referred to his late retreat as a flight, in a manner which Condé could not forgive; and for a time the warring friends were foes in earnest.

In the last half of August Turenne captured the fortresses of Condé and St. Ghislain, and the enemy continued his retreat, though Condé undertook some smaller operations, and conducted them handsomely with his body of six thousand cavalry. The archduke, afraid of the French advance, strengthened the fortresses, by so much weakening his army, and did practically nothing. Late in the year, in November, both armies sought winter-quarters.

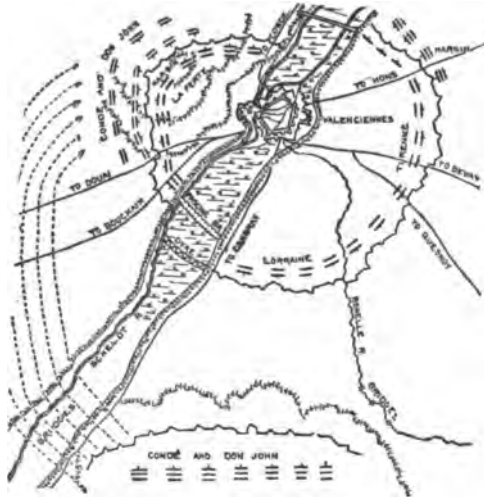
Next year, 1656, Don John of Austria replaced Archduke Leopold in command of the imperial forces; Condé was second to him, and could not operate on his own judgment. Don John, who brought the manners and ideas of the court to the conduct of the army, did nothing but move to and fro, and besiege small forts on the line between Tournay, Valenciennes, Quesnoy, Lens, Bethune and St. Quentin in southern Flanders, and on the northern boundary of Artois and Picardy. In resisting this ill-considered species of aggression,

Turenne exhibited remarkable powers of manœuvring. Both parties aimed for Tournay ; but Condé threw a body of four thousand men under the works, and anticipating the French in a surprise of the place, held on until the Spanish army could come up and invest it. Though tied by the inertness of the Spanish generals, Condé, on this and other occasions this year, must be said to have operated with ability.

At the beginning of summer, on June 14 and 15, Turenne opened trenches in front of Valenciennes, building lines of circumvallation on both sides of the Scheldt, he occupying the right bank, La Ferté, who came up later, the left. Turenne had sixteen thousand men, half cavalry, La Ferté a less number. Valenciennes was a strong and rich city on the Scheldt, which with its affluents flowed through and around it, and made the country a network of marshes up and down river. From Valenciennes to the town of Condé is a vast plain ; but on the west the town and river are dominated by a hill, Mont Azin. Turenne occupied the plain on the east of the town, the army of La Ferté the west, including Mont Azin, and over the Scheldt were a bridge above and another below, by which the two armies could intercommunicate. Turenne's plans were well laid ; there were but two thousand men in the garrison, though some ten thousand citizens were drilled, and the capture of Valenciennes seemed but a question of time.

Don John had not yet got his forces in hand ; but Condé had a flying corps, and his first scheme was to open the reservoir sluices of Bouchain to throw the waters of the river down upon the French. The inundation increased the width of the river to one thousand paces, and kept the French generals busy diverting the floods by canals and embankments. Finally they succeeded in throwing the inundation back from their camps and into the city, flooding one of its quarters.

Don John and Condé, with twenty thousand men, now moved from Douay towards Valenciennes, and, establishing their main camp on the south of the city opposite the left of Turenne's lines at half cannon-shot distance, with their own left on the Scheldt and the right on the Rouelle, they occupied both banks of the river, and threw several bridges across. The bulk of the force lay where it threatened Turenne, and this general believed that the attack would be made, if at all,



Valenciennes.

on him. Condé, for a week or more, made nightly attacks on Turenne or La Ferté, always at new points, and after so lively a fashion that the French troops were kept under arms until they were almost tired out. Then, for the night of July 9-10, he prepared an attack on La Ferté. Marshal Marsin from St. Amand was to hold Turenne in check by demonstrating with his six thousand men, while Condé and Don John should fall on his colleague. Notice was contrived to be got to the garrison to increase its fire and to open the

sluices, so as, if possible, to make the French bridges unavailable for mutual succor. Condé remembered Turenne's brilliant operation at Arras and proposed to have his revenge.

The garrison had been much reduced, and had Turenne assaulted before this moment, the town must have fallen. It was time that the Spaniards should act, if at all. From the preparations of the allies Turenne divined that La Ferté would be attacked, and offered him half his army; but La Ferté, who was absurdly jealous of his colleague, rejected the offer. Before his arrival, Turenne had built strong defenses to his camp, but La Ferté had demolished half of them, as being quite unnecessary. Condé and Don John meanwhile assembled their men on the evening of the 16th of July, moved across the river, and reaching the ditch of La Ferté's works before they were discovered, delivered an assault so suddenly as to be completely successful. Though La Ferté gathered the cavalry and defended his ground manfully, Condé drove him in, and of the six regiments which Turenne sent over to La Ferté's assistance, two met the same fate. The inundation and short shrift prevented Turenne from aiding him with more men, though he made a stout effort to do so. While the Spanish foot made its way into Valenciennes, Condé and the horse attacked the flying French, drove them into the flooded river or cut them down, and of all La Ferté's forces only two thousand escaped the sword, drowning or capture, the Spanish loss being a bare hundred. The fight lasted an hour only. Marsin had meanwhile attacked Turenne, but was repulsed. Thus rudely interrupted, Turenne abandoned the siege and hastily retired to Quesnoy, where, with the sixteen thousand men and six guns left him, he took up a stand to meet Condé, who, he believed, would follow and urge battle. But Don John would not leave Valenciennes for immediate pursuit, and when he

finally followed, Turenne was ready for an attack. He feared that to retire too far would alarm the court and unduly encourage the enemy ; and, against the advice of all his officers, prepared for battle. Nothing but his own courage kept his men in hand ; and, seeing his firm front, the Spanish army declined to attack ; and retired to Condé.

The whole operation at Valenciennes was an able piece of work by Condé, and though it apparently succeeded because Turenne had not been as careful as he might in his outpost service, and did not soon enough receive notice of the enemy's manoeuvre, it was none the less a fair match for Turenne's success at Arras. The fault mainly lay with La Ferté, who was unwilling to heed any suggestions of his colleague.

Turenne was by no means disheartened. He lost none of his activity, and constantly annoyed the enemy to sustain the morale of his troops. Turenne's elasticity under defeat is one of his highest qualities. Apparently unwilling to push Turenne further, the enemy now besieged the town of Condé, as if for lack of a better objective ; captured it, and moved successively on Cambray, Lens and Bethuné. Constantly hovering around them, seeking an advantage, Turenne followed their movements, and held himself ready for battle at any auspicious moment. It is a subject of regret that so little space can be given to operations which are altogether admirable. Finally Condé and Don John retired to Maubeuge. Turenne went into winter-quarters behind the Somme.

When they are the only ones in the field, the operations of smaller bodies are as interesting and may be quite as skillful as those of the larger ones ; when they are mere detachments from the main army, contributing to and following its manoeuvres, they do not command the same attention, however worthy of study. But though an enormous army com-

pels a certain admiration which is inseparable from mere bulk (whether indeed in art, architecture, engineering or even literature), a general does not necessarily earn praise for ably commanding it beyond what we bestow on the leader of the smaller army. We admire Napoleon's 1796 campaign more than that of 1812; nor can it be said that Grant's Wilderness campaign was as able as that of Jackson in the Valley. While Turenne led smaller armies than Eugene or Marlborough, they were none the less the armies which enacted the principal rôles in the wars in which he was engaged, and deserve as ample recognition as if he had stood at the head of thrice the force. He later showed his capacity to handle large armies with equal ease.



Knight.
(15th Century.)

XLIV.

DUNKIRK. THE BATTLE OF THE DUNES, 1657. MAY AND JUNE, 1658.

LOUIS had agreed with Cromwell to capture Dunkirk, which had again fallen to the Spaniards, and turn it over to the English, against a contingent of six thousand men. In 1657 the campaign consisted solely of manœuvres between the coast and the Scheldt; but in 1658, after there had been a number of serious desertions from the French to Condé, and the affairs of the king seemed desperate, Turenne undertook to retrieve them by the capture of Dunkirk, under peculiarly harassing conditions, which almost promised failure. The time of year was bad, the difficulties greater than when Condé had taken it, and the threat of a relieving army certain. The English fleet, however, assisted Turenne, and later the English contingent. Finally, after the trenches were opened, Don John and Condé appeared at Furnes, and, leaving six thousand men at the siege, Turenne went out to meet them. On June 14 was fought the battle of the Dunes; the English ships assisted with their fire; the Spaniards had brought no artillery; the ground was ill-adapted to horse; and after a stout conflict Turenne won the day, and drove back the enemy, who retreated to his fortresses. Dunkirk shortly surrendered. After some minor operations the campaign ended, and next year came the Peace of the Pyrenees.

LOUIS XIV. had made a treaty offensive and defensive with Cromwell, by which England was to furnish six thousand men to France, and Louis agreed to capture Dunkirk and deliver it to the English. In consequence of this treaty, Charles II. and his brother, the duke of York, who so far had been depending on the countenance of the French court, left for the Netherlands, where the dukes of York and Gloucester thereafter commanded a small Irish contingent in the Spanish army. In May, 1657, Turenne concentrated at Amiens, intending to march to the seaboard in pursuance of

the projected capture of Dunkirk. But the late arrival both of his new recruits and of the English contingent prevented his accomplishing any result. The Spaniards concentrated in Flanders, and Turenne conceived a new plan which the court approved. La Ferté with fifteen thousand men was sent to the border to hold Condé in Luxemburg, where he had been wont to winter, while Turenne himself, with twenty-five thousand men, proposed to march to the river Lys, as if bound for the coast, whence he would sharply turn on Cambray, whose garrison was reduced by detachments; and during this operation he would rely on the English, who were soon to land on the seaboard, and on the activity of La Ferté, to divert from his purpose the attention of the enemy. This plan Turenne inaugurated by a rapid march toward the Lys, which led Don John to fear for the coast fortresses and cease to watch Cambray; on perceiving which, Turenne broke up with all his horse, and by a rapid day and night march reached Cambray May 29, and blockaded it. The infantry followed close behind. Turenne crossed the Scheldt near the town, and stood across the road to Bouchain; threw bridges, and hurried forward his works so vigorously that in two days the blockade was complete.

The Spaniards had already begged Condé to leave Luxemburg to care for itself and come to the protection of the Netherlands, and La Ferté having failed to keep him busy, he had got to Mons, from whence, with three thousand horse, by rapid marching he reached Valenciennes May 29, the day on which Turenne blockaded Cambray. From Valenciennes Condé's guide happened to mislead him, and gave his column a wrong direction from which he emerged on the main road, while Turenne had made preparations to meet him on a road through a densely wooded country, which in fact Condé had intended to take. Thus by mere accident Condé went around

Turenne ; and having, from Valenciennes, succeeded in notifying the commander of the Cambray garrison of his purpose, while Turenne's lines were disgarnished by his absence, he contrived, under cover of a smart night attack on the French cavalry, and at a loss of thirty officers and three or four hundred men, to enter Cambray. This was a very handsome operation, in which Condé's energy was deservedly aided by his luck.

As the rest of Condé's army was near at hand, Turenne retired from Cambray, marched up the right bank of the Scheldt, and moved on Le Catelet and St. Quentin. With the St. Quentin garrison of four thousand men he reinforced La Ferté, who had been sent to besiege Montmédy, the key of Luxemburg, in the hope that the vigorous prosecution of the siege there would attract the attention of the enemy and lead him to separate his forces, or to commit some error of which he could take advantage. After a heroic resistance of six weeks, Montmédy succumbed, and La Ferté turned over his forces to Turenne. The latter was now joined by the six thousand English who had landed on the coast, but this fact drew the attention of the enemy to operations there ; and with every means of assuming the offensive, Turenne, as he says, felt constrained, while in the midst of so many strong fortresses and in the presence of so strong an enemy, to act on the defensive. If he undertook a siege of any of them, he feared that the enemy would make a raid into the interior, or snatch from him some one of his own ill-garrisoned cities. The situation required a defensive attitude ; by waiting he might gain an opportunity of taking the enemy at a disadvantage ; and he sat down in the region between the Scheldt and Sambre.

No captain is always at his best. When we see him conduct a splendid campaign one year, we are naturally led to

expect equal originality, boldness and skill in the succeeding year. But history shows us no man who is uniformly on the same level ; and this was peculiarly the case in this era, when soldiers were under the restraint of a certain formality in the military art. In the game of war there constantly occur, moreover, situations which appear to paralyze the action of the rival leaders ; situations where, as at a game of chess, one moves in the dark, or tentatively, or in such a manner as to invite a move from the opponent. To sit down and wait for the next operation of your opponent is a very common occurrence in every campaign. Not to do so is the province of few men.

Don John had manœuvred meanwhile between the Meuse and Sambre, but finding no opportunity for action, he marched on Calais, which Condé had suggested a plan to seize out of hand by an attack at low tide from the sea front. As matters turned out, he found himself too late by a couple of hours ; and seeing that he could not seize the place, Don John returned to the Meuse, thinking to relieve Montmédy. Arriving after its fall, he continued to march to and fro without any apparent aim, fatiguing his army and gaining not the least result. Purposeless marching is not activity ; this word presupposes a clear objective or a well-conceived plan. Finally, having gathered reinforcements at Luxemburg, it looked as if Don John was preparing to invade France ; Condé indeed suggested a raid on Paris. To give the Spaniards something else to think of, Turenne, by a march of seventy-five miles in three days, reached the Lys and blockaded the fortress of St. Venant. Whatever Don John's intentions, he now advanced to the rescue, but sat down to besiege Ardres instead of relieving St. Venant. After much difficulty, and the loss of several of his convoys, Turenne took St. Venant, and then sent five thousand cavalry to the assistance

of Ardres. Don John, who could easily have taken the place by assault, gave up the siege and, sharply pushed by the French, retired on Gravelines and Dunkirk. Turenne followed, took Mardyck under his nose, and put an English garrison into it.* This ended the year's manœuvres, and the rival armies went into winter-quarters. Though the operations had been small, Turenne had fitted his work to his conditions and to his opponents as well. Condé had as usual been controlled by the Spanish generals, who well knew, by petty opposition and by subterfuge and half-hearted work, how to nullify his best efforts. His power, moreover, lay more in his *coup d'œil* and fervor on the battle-field than in manœuvring in the open field, or in stemming a disastrous tide which in any campaign might set against him.

Matters turned against Louis XIV. during the winter of 1657-58, and as a result Turenne got placed in a most difficult situation. Hocquincourt, with the garrison of Hesdin, went over to Condé; several fortresses surrendered; Marshal d'Aumont, in an attempt to surprise Ostende, was captured; Normandy rose in revolt; the long-continued weakness of the government brought about, in all classes of the people as well as in the army, a marked spirit of dissatisfaction; the number of troops was small; Cromwell was impatient to get Dunkirk, and threatened to withdraw his troops and fleet, unless this place was speedily captured. Everything conspired to give an ill turn to the situation.

But Dunkirk presented singular difficulties. The Spaniards had broken the dikes and flooded the whole vicinity to Bergen. The fortress itself lay in the midst of three others, Gravelines, Bergen and Furnes, all in the hands of the Spaniards. This made the victualing and the delivery of material to an army besieging Dunkirk a task almost beyond execution. France had no one to look to but Turenne, and he was

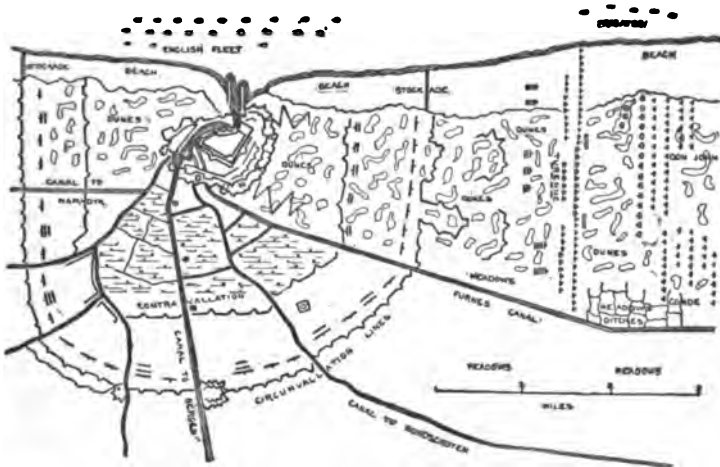
at the head of a woefully small army. What could he do? He had no one but himself to rely on. But the man grew as the horizon blackened: he resolved to have Dunkirk; and by undertaking the almost impossible, he showed himself to be truly great.

He concentrated part of his army near Amiens in April, and marched with eight thousand men to St. Venant on the upper Lys, while three thousand men accompanied the nomadic court to Calais. On the way to Dunkirk, he sent out a detachment which took Cassel; repaired, as he advanced, the roads, which were almost bottomless, with boards, fascines and stones; turned Bergen by the right, and in early May, having learned that the garrison of the place was weak, and that the forts on the Bergen canal, which if in good condition might arrest his advance, had not been completed, he determined to push on Dunkirk, between this place and Furnes, over the flooded district. East of Dunkirk was a redoubt built on the only practicable road, but this had not been suitably garrisoned and was readily taken.

It was a desperate undertaking to advance over a country where the floods grew deeper every day, but Turenne happily found a dike available, which led up to the two forts between Dunkirk and Bergen. To utilize the dike the forts must be first captured, and Turenne, who had been fortunate enough to receive six thousand fresh men, moved against them. The enemy sent a detachment from Dunkirk to their aid; but Turenne drove this back, reduced the redoubts, which had not been kept up in proper shape for defense, and utilized them himself.

It was too early in the year to expect to succeed in crossing the flooded region with all his material of war; and yet Turenne looked not back. He debated whether he had not best first besiege Bergen, which would be easier to capture than

Dunkirk; but he saw that if for a moment he turned from his declared intention of besieging Dunkirk, he would lose the moral control of his army and of the situation. It was Dunkirk alone, not Bergen, which would satisfy Cromwell and conserve the English alliance. Only Turenne's wonderful personal enthusiasm and the devotion of his troops enabled him to get so far as to undertake the siege. Though up to their middle in water, ill-housed and ill-fed, the men worked with a will; bridges were built over the flooded low



Dunkirk and the Battle of the Dunes.

lands, the canals from Hondschoten and Furnes were repaired, and in twenty-four hours after their completion the army stood upon the Dunes.

The garrison of Dunkirk, though not as large as it should have been, yet numbered nearly three thousand men. Part of these troops had been camped outside, but they were now drawn into the fortress. Don John and Condé, who with their armies were in Brussels, supposed that as a matter of course Turenne would first besiege Furnes, Bergen and

Gravelines, and thus consume much time. Indeed, Don John reinforced the garrison of St. Omer, believing it to be threatened rather than Dunkirk. They never gave a thought to the French being able to reach Dunkirk; nor did they believe Turenne could there victual his army. Had the enemy been on hand near Furnes or Bergen, even in small force, Turenne could hardly have prevented their marching into Dunkirk and forestalling his operations; but, as is wont to be the case, Turenne's boldness was an appeal to Fortune which the fickle goddess could not disregard.

Having reached the place and invested it before the Spaniards knew of his intention to do so, Turenne was scarcely better off. No materials were at hand to build a line of circumvallation; the wind overnight would blow down the works which the men had piled up during the day, or the tide would wash them away; all material had to come from Calais as well as forage and rations. Turenne was repeating Condé's experience of a few years before under vastly worse conditions.

Thunderstruck at the news that Turenne had laid siege to Dunkirk, Don John and Condé speedily started thither, but Turenne had already blockaded the sea front by means of the English troops under Generals Lockhart and Morgan, aided by the fleet of twenty ships of the line and a number of frigates, and had protected himself by a line of circumvallation on the land side. The labors of the men were a fit complement of the constancy of their leader. The marshal had put himself and them in a place where there was but one outlet, — victory. Had he failed and the French been compelled to retreat, the whole force would beyond peradventure have been destroyed. There was no choice except to win; Turenne determined to win, and fortune smiled upon his efforts. Trenches were opened at the beginning of

summer, on the night of June 4-5, one set for the English, one for the French, and a number of sorties were repulsed. Seven days later, on July 12, Don John, Condé and the whole Spanish army came up, and at once sent forward a force to reconnoitre Turenne's position.

Turenne had already heard of their arrival at Furnes. They had marched so hurriedly that they had brought no artillery, and were ill supplied with infantry ammunition, believing that they could relieve Dunkirk by a *coup de main*, and that Turenne's lines could not be so stout but that they could break through. This was an assumption which might hold in the case of a fortress approachable on all sides, but not in the case of Dunkirk.

Don John called a council of war. Condé advised camping between the canals of Furnes and Hondschoten, to wait for the artillery, and meanwhile to harass the enemy and cut off his rations. Don John decided to advance on Turenne's lines in his actual condition and at once, though the ground was such that his cavalry had not space to manœuvre; nor were there any guns to oppose to those of the French.

The only means of arriving from Furnes, which is near the coast, to the dunes or sandhills on which Dunkirk lies, was by marching between the sea and the Furnes canal. This path was composed solely of beach and dunes, and narrowed as it approached Turenne's lines. It was, moreover, cut up by innumerable little canals and waterways, natural and artificial. However difficult it was to marshal troops on such terrain, the archduke was determined to raise the siege, and Condé had no means of opposing his will.

Turenne, who was not aware of the badly equipped condition of the enemy, saw that his lines were not strong enough to defend against a well-directed attack in force; and he was

by nature more inclined to the offensive. He left six thousand men in the trenches to push the work on the siege, which had already reached the counterscarp, but which had not yet got a secure footing, concentrated the rest, nine thousand foot and six thousand horse, with ten guns, behind the works near the sea opposite where the enemy was approaching; personally headed a regiment of cavalry; and on June 18 attacked the Spanish van, consisting of a large force of horse, and drove it back. In the combat Hocquincourt, who had recently gone over to Condé, was killed.

The enemy's main force was still five miles distant. Turenne marched out of his lines and drew up to await the Spaniards, who on the same day advanced into closer contact, while the marshal did the like, seized some of the higher dune-hills, and threw up such works as the sandy soil and absence of material permitted. The rival lines were now within two thousand yards, and both bridged the Furnes canal in several places. A deserter — a page who had fled from his master — came in during the succeeding night and found Turenne wrapped in his mantle, cogitating the events of the morrow. The page brought the news that the enemy had no guns, a fact which gave Turenne fresh ardor. He determined on summary attack, and sent to ask his English allies if they sustained his reasons. "Whenever Marshal Turenne is ready, so are we," said they; "he can give us his reasons after we have whipped the enemy."

The Spaniards probably had no great confidence in Condé; they certainly did not listen to him; they were convinced that Turenne would not attack them, and their dispositions were far from sound. Turenne had sent his train to Mardyk and neighboring places, so as to be prepared for failure as well as success. He now drew up in two lines, with the right flank on the canal and the left on the sea, where the English

fleet supported it, the foot in the centre, and the horse, sustained by a few battalions, on either flank, ten squadrons in reserve behind each wing. The English were in the left wing, the French composed the right and part of the left. A flying column of horse lay behind the army to head off sorties from the town, or to help any part of the line which might become depleted.

The Spanish army had fourteen thousand men, of which six thousand were horse, but their artillery, as reported, had not come up, and all their force was not put in; for part, it is alleged, had been sent out foraging. They approached quite near the French position, having set up the foot in the front line, the horse in the second, posted on the right in four lines, on the left in six or eight lines, on account of the narrow terrain — which was barely a league in width — between the Furnes canal and the sea. Don John commanded the Spanish right, Condé the left. In this position they spent the night. Next day, June 14, Turenne, with entire confidence that he should beat the enemy, marched forward, attacked them at daybreak with a heavy artillery fire, and then followed up the attack with his troops. The enemy's outposts were driven in, and Turenne was anxious to get at the main line; but in his memoirs he complains of the slowness of the march in line of battle. It was indeed slow at that day, and the guns, hard to work, could deliver but four or five shots during the advance.

When Don John observed the English fleet manœuvring off the shore, he feared to send his cavalry into action along the beach, lest it should be destroyed by the fire of the ships, and drew it up in rear of the infantry. Thus his right flank was not protected in the usual manner by horse, and the foot felt the less secure. The English regiments advanced with determination and fell on the enemy's right, where stood the best

Spanish foot, well posted on a dune-hill; and they were sustained by cross-fire from the fleet and by the action of the left-wing French horse, which joined in the attack on the Spanish right, and then outflanked it by moving along the beach. The English charge, despite stubborn courage, was not at first successful; they advanced thrice, and were thrice rolled back from the dune-hills by main push of Spanish pikes. But British blood was up; they would not be denied; the old Cromwellian heart was there. "The French fight like men; but those English fight like demons," said Don John, who with Caracena bravely sought to repair their errors by honest Spanish gallantry. The beach being disgarnished of Spanish troops, the French were able in addition to the cavalry to get some guns trained on the Spanish right flank on the dune-hills and to batter it heartily. The Spanish cavalry was well to the rear, and in such close masses that it could not disengage itself to charge.

Meanwhile the French infantry of the centre, struggling through the deep sand, smartly fell on the main line, and after some close work drove it in. The Spaniards of the right, thus taken in front and on both flanks, were finally defeated with great slaughter, fled in confusion, and were sharply pursued, though Condé sent some horse out to take in reverse the French squadrons, which had advanced too far.

On the Spanish left, where Condé stood, the ground was not so easily won. Condé had divined that defeat lay before the allies. "Have you ever been in a battle?" asked he of the duke of Gloucester before the action opened. "No." "Well, you'll see a big one lost in half an hour," rejoined Condé. But he hoped to cut through and succor Dunkirk. Créqui commanded on the French right; Turenne was everywhere. At the outset the Spanish first line of troops was unsettled by the demoralization of two battalions, who fled

after one discharge. Turenne attacked with his cavalry and drove back Condé four hundred paces; but Condé rallied, charged with his massed column on the less numerous French horse, threw it back six hundred paces, and all but broke through Turenne's line, though the infantry behaved with stanchness; and finally the mass' of foot on the dunes stopped his progress. Fearing disaster in case Condé made another charge, Turenne headed some fresh horse in person to forestall such an event, and after desperate fighting, — the Spanish left being weakened by the disaster to the right, — drove in his line and almost captured the prince himself, whose cavalry had got dispersed. The victory was complete, and Turenne, careful not to give Condé an opportunity to rally, followed it smartly up.

During the battle the garrison under the marquis of Leyden made a hearty sortie, and reached and burned the tents of the battalions in the besieging lines; but he was eventually driven back.

The French loss was small; the Spanish army lost one thousand men, killed and wounded, and three thousand prisoners. It fled to Furnes, to which place Turenne followed, and here, under the guns of the fortress, pursuit was checked. On the advice of the duke of York, the Spanish army shut itself up in the fortresses, Condé in Ostende, Fuensaldegna in Nieuport, Don John in Bruges, and the prince of Ligny in Ypres. Such was the battle of the Dunes.

Having pursued the beaten army as far as Furnes, Turenne returned to the siege, which he prosecuted with vigor. The English had been gallant and useful in the battle, but they were less practiced in sieges and could not do much here. A lodgment was made on the counterscarp by a sharp attack, and the besiegers made their way to the foot of the last work. Shortly, on June 25, Dunkirk surrendered, it being

the ninth day after the battle, and was, according to agreement, delivered to the English. The siege had cost many men on both sides ; one half the garrison had fallen. Leyden was killed.

Few sieges redound more to the credit of any captain than Dunkirk to that of Turenne. The courage with which he undertook an almost hopeless task, because it was the thing to be done, and the constancy with which he carried the work to completion, are admirable from every standpoint.

Two days after the surrender of Dunkirk, Bergen was surrounded ; trenches were opened ; next day the outworks were captured and a lodgment made in the counterscarp ; and on the 29th the place surrendered its garrison of nine hundred men as prisoners of war. Furnes, which had but eighty men, also capitulated. Turenne sent a body of troops to Rousbrugge to watch Ypres, and marched to Dixmuiden, which lay between the four fortresses above named, took it July 6, after no great effort, and thus cut the Spanish army in four parts. He was planning to move on Nieuport and Ostende, hoping to destroy the enemy in detail, when Mazarin, owing to the king's illness, unwisely commanded him to cease operations.

On the king's recovering, to give La Ferté a chance to distinguish himself he was sent to besiege Gravelines, while Turenne sent an observing detachment to Nieuport, held his own position at Dixmuiden, and thus protected him, in addition to reinforcing him with a thousand men. An army under Marsin coming from Luxemburg by the upper Lys and Ypres to relieve Gravelines, Turenne took post at Dunkirk, and put out a curtain of detachments to head Marsin off ; the latter retired again to Ypres and the upper Lys. La Ferté took Gravelines in twenty-six days, after much loss and rather inexpertly, and then went back to France.

Partly from La Ferté's troops, Turenne then placed a reserve of ten thousand foot and ten thousand horse at Hesdin to protect the frontier; assembled the rest at Dixmuiden, and marched on the Lys and the Scheldt, sending raiders as far as Brussels; won Oudenarde, surprised and beat the prince of Ligny at the Lys, captured Ypres, September 26, in a five days' siege, rested his troops a few days, covered for four weeks the new building of works at Menin and Oudenarde, and took Grammont and Ninove. He had thus overrun a large part of the Spanish Netherlands. As December came on, Turenne left five thousand men in the captured fortresses, and returned with the rest to France.

This remarkable campaign — the siege of Dunkirk, the battle of the Dunes and the overrunning of the Netherlands — greatly aided in making the terms of the treaty of the Pyrenees favorable to France. Turenne was created *Maréchal général des armées*; had he been willing to change his religion, he could have become constable of France.

Turenne exhibited military and personal gifts of the very highest order. If he had been independent so as to work on a larger scale, he might possibly have reached equality with the six great captains. But he was always hampered by the political difficulties of the king, and particularly by the enmity of the ministers. He possessed the intellect and character, but never had the requisite opportunity. On the other hand Condé, while full of the resources which make the battle-captain, and brilliant in some ways which Turenne was not, boasted qualities of endurance, patience and equanimity less marked than his opponent. One can imagine Condé beating Turenne in a great battle, but one would expect Turenne to win any campaign from Condé under equal conditions.

After the peace of the Pyrenees in 1659, Condé was reinstated in all his honors and property, returned home and

entered the service of France. France received some territorial enlargements, especially in the Spanish Netherlands; the duke of Lorraine was partially reinstated; and Louis XIV. married Maria Theresa, daughter of the king of Spain, who, in consideration of a dowry, renounced her right of inheritance.



French Dragoon.
(17th Century.)

XLV.

ARMY ORGANIZATION AND TACTICS. EARLY SEVENTEENTH TO EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

STANDING armies became common in the seventeenth century. No great improvements were made, except in details; the method was cumbrous; Gustavus' system was imitated in letter and not in spirit. Bayonet and flint-lock were introduced; cavalry grew lighter; uniforms came into general use; and companies, squadrons and regiments were more regular in strength. Artillery was not up to Gustavus' scale of lightness, but ordnance and the theory of gunnery improved. In 1648 the foot still habitually stood in eight ranks; but Turenne reduced the depth, and later it got down to three. The horse also rode in three ranks; but the cavalryman rarely used cold steel. Marches were in several columns, and were slow, as roads often had to be made. Good positions rather than intrenched camps came into favor; but battle was less considered than manœuvring. Pursuit was rare; outpost service began; armies grew to be larger; pontoons were now common; and the baggage trains were enormous. Rationing was awkwardly done, but medical service grew in efficiency. Generals were usually much hampered by the governments. Engineering developed more than any other art; fortresses became numerous and strong. The era was one of sieges, manœuvres on the enemy's communications and small war. Battles lacked character and were usually accidental. The spade almost replaced the musket; armies moved from one strong place to another, or from siege to siege. War lost some of its horrors, but was still costly in men and material. Whatever success was won by any general came from his own ability.

By the middle of the seventeenth century nations had learned, in large part from the lessons of the Thirty Years' War, that there was not only more security, but more economy in keeping on foot at all times at least the skeleton organization of a considerable body of troops, than there was in discharging at the end of every campaign the men who had

fought through it, and making new levies for the next one. Hence, following in the footsteps of Sweden, standing armies may be said to have become universal towards the end of this century, a fact which naturally fostered more careful discipline and a deeper study of the real problems of war. After Sweden, France was the first country, under the leadership of Louvois, the Great Monarch's great — if narrow — war minister, to found a permanent force; Brandenburg, under the Great Elector, followed; and other nations gradually dropped into line. After this period only a part of the forces under the colors were disbanded at the close of any given war.

The period following the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 gave no great impulse to the art of war proper, but though the foundation on which men worked was an unreal one, there were many and marked improvements in matters of detail. During the era of Gustavus Adolphus it was Sweden that led in shaping war towards its modern conditions; during the era of Louis XIV. (*le grand siècle*) it was France.

So far as the infantry went, the chief improvements were in the armament, — the introduction of bayonet and flint-lock. The bayonet, said to have been first used in 1660 by General Martinet (father of rigidity in drill and discipline), and to have originated in Bayonne, gave the death-blow to the pikemen, for the musketeer was now equipped for both distant and hand to hand fighting; and the flint-lock made the fire of a line of foot much more rapid and telling. The several armies of Europe, which had essentially varied in form from the Spanish masses to the Swedish three-rank line, grew to a much greater resemblance in organization and appearance; the light and heavy foot, as separate arms, disappeared, and the only light troops remaining were the *compagnies franches* of France, the *Jäger* or *Schützen* of Germany, and the *Pandours* of Austria. Grenadiers for hurling

hand grenades made their appearance, first by companies, then by regiments.

Uniforms were introduced by Louis XIV. in his guards in 1665, and gradually came into general use. There had been uniforms before, but all the troops did not wear them; a company or a regiment was a harlequin affair compared to the troops of the eighteenth century.

The company was the tactical unit, but it consisted of varying numbers, from fifty or sixty men in France to two or three hundred in Austria. Battalions varied equally, from five companies in Brandenburg to seventeen in France.

The cavalry was made lighter in arms and equipment. The first idea of the knight, on the discovery of gunpowder, had been to encase himself and his steed in impenetrable steel; but as firearms had gained in penetration, horse armor finally disappeared, and only helmet and breastplate remained to the heavy trooper. Pistols, carbines and musketoon were the firearms of the cavalry; a sword or sabre the cold weapon. Dragoons carried the infantry musket with a bayonet, and came more and more into favor. They, with cuirassiers and irregular light horse, made up the bulk of the mounted troops; but mounted grenadiers were also introduced.

The squadron was the tactical unit of the cavalry, and consisted of a total of about one hundred and seventy men in three companies. The regiments varied from four hundred to eighteen hundred men in strength, according to the decade or the country.

Artillery ceased to be merely a guild of cannoneers, as it had long been, and became an inherent part of the army. More intelligence was devoted to, and more money spent on, this arm; it grew in strength and importance, and was markedly improved. But while artillery service ceased to be a trade, it did not put on the dignity of a special arm,

nor was artillery of any great utility in the field until well along in the eighteenth century. Guns, however, in imitation of the Swedes, were lightened, particularly so in France; powder was gradually compounded on better recipes; gun-metal was improved; paper and linen cartridges were introduced; gun-carriages were provided with the aiming wedge; and many new styles of guns and mortars, and ammunition for them were invented. Science lent its aid to practical men, and not only exhausted chemical ingenuity in preparing powder and metal, but mathematical formulas were made for the artilleryman, and the value of ricochet firing was discovered. Louis XIV. founded several artillery schools, and the creation of arsenals was begun. Finally the artillery was organized on a battery and regimental basis, and careful rules were made for the tactics of the guns. These were served by dismounted men and generally hauled by contract horses.

But although sensibly improved, the artillery, in addition to being slow of fire, was still unskillfully managed; it stood in small bodies all along the line of battle; and being heavy and hard to haul, principally because the same guns were used for sieges and for field work, it was far from being, even relatively to the other arms, the weapon which it is to-day.

At the end of the Thirty Years' War the infantry habitually stood in eight ranks, the pikemen in the centre and the musketeers on the flanks. Gustavus had made a six-deep file, which deployed to fire into one three deep; but though this was not at once taken up by the other nations, even those who were his admirers and imitators, still the improvement in firearms necessarily led to a less deep formation. It was Turenne who first reduced the French file to six men; whence it was further diminished to four, three and even two men. The ranks stood four paces apart, but closed up to fire, and

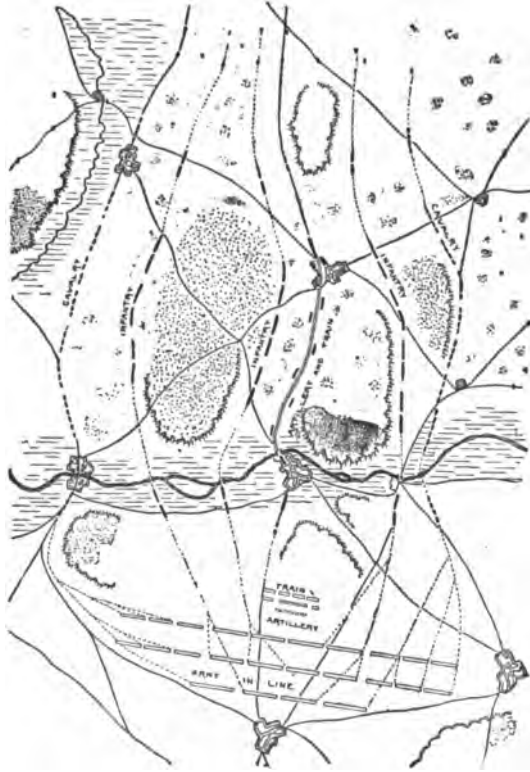
doubled up for a charge. The formation of squares was common, a relic of the Spanish "battles."

The horse rode in three ranks, of which the third was often trained to file out, ploy into closer order, and envelop the enemy's flanks. The squadrons stood at squadron distance from each other. The French at times rode in two ranks, to make a longer front. The drill manœuvres of the cavalry were simple, and commonly performed at a trot.

The improvement of firearms had one lamentable sequence, — the troops forgot that at times they must still rely on the cold steel; they deemed a stout fire the best attack that could be given; and a bold and skillful manœuvre or an assault, even though crowned with success, was looked upon as a dangerous departure from correct precedent, — a blunder. Even the cavalry (except the Swedish) so far forgot its rôle as to believe that its fire was its strongest point. In any event a few salvos were given before a charge, if one was made, and by such tactics cavalry soon lost its *élan*. Even in a charge they rode at a slow trot, and the dragoons mostly fought as and with the infantry. Few men were capable of doing what Condé did at Rocroy. He was an exception in the use of cavalry.

Marches were conducted in what seems to us a highly cumbersome fashion. As a general rule, an army moved in three, five or more columns, the middle one consisting of the artillery and trains, and the outer ones of cavalry. This demanded the preparation of roads, and cost much labor and loss of time, compensated for only by the enemy being tied down by the same method. To change a camp to a place ten miles distant, if in the presence of the enemy, roads would be constructed so as to enable the troops to move according to a given formula in a set number of columns. The roads all over Europe, from early winter to late spring, fully six

months, were impassable, and necessitated going into winter-quarters, and during this season superior officers were apt to go off on leave of absence. It was only a man of exceptional energy who would conduct a winter campaign.



Army on the March.

Armies no longer so uniformly intrenched their camps; they took up advantageous positions; and tents replaced barracks. They camped in a sort of order of battle with company streets, the foot in the centre and the cavalry on the flanks. Able generals made their camps coincide with the topography; not so the average officer.

But the lack of mobility of organized forces was their chief characteristic. Manœuvres were slow and cumbrous. Even the French could not manœuvre as we understand it; and so soon as an army sought to go beyond the simplest tactics or to change its parallel order in battle, so soon did it run the risk of dissolution. What Gustavus had accomplished in this respect did not outlive him. He was away in advance of his era. His adaptation of the smaller details to the movement of an army was as skillful as his larger views of strategy were profound. Not even Swedish troops after his death manœuvred as rapidly and skillfully as his own Royal Army.

Battle was the last thing thought of except by such men as Condé, Turenne, Prince Eugene or Marlborough. When one occurred, it was rather apt to be a battle of accident; a deliberately planned engagement was rare. A decisive battle like Rocroy, Allerheim, Blenheim or Turin was yet more rare. Few generals, when they fought, did so in other than in parallel order. Flank attacks, not to speak of grand-tactics, as Frederick or Napoleon understood them, were almost unheard of. The English were perhaps as original as any other people in this matter, and sought to make the infantry and cavalry sustain each other in their attack.

Pursuit, as Alexander had pursued, was unknown. Even after a great victory, the victors remained on the field of battle. It was looked on as a sort of blunder to pursue, lest the enemy should turn and renew the battle. A bridge of gold was to be preferred.

Outpost service was begun in this era, and reached a considerable development. This was looked on as the best school for the soldier. Small war and manœuvring over extensive territory were the operations most highly considered. To manœuvre your enemy out of his chosen position was deemed

a greater feat, and more in accordance with the true principles of the art, than to destroy or disable his army in a great battle.

Compared with earlier times, the armies of the last part of this era were numerically large, — the armies of France reaching often a total as high as two hundred thousand men. The proper ratio of the three arms was by no means settled. Cavalry was proportionately numerous, at times quite equaling the infantry, or even exceeding it, while in line it occupied thrice the space. Artillery averaged one gun per thousand men.

Pontoon trains grew to be more common, and an immense amount of private baggage and numerous camp followers cumbered the army trains, to such an extent that the tale of non-combatants often rose to equal the for-duty roster.

It had become the fashion to imitate the methods of Gustavus Adolphus, but it was generally only the letter and not the spirit which was imitated. This applied to the system of victualing armies from established magazines. The principal magazine of any given army was as a rule a fortress, where large supplies were accumulated. In case of danger, the meal or flour was baked into bread at the magazine ; otherwise it was transported two or three days' march towards the army, and there baked in field bakeries. Bread for from six to nine days was sent forward to the troops. As the ration was not composed of concentrated material, this required immense trains, which were managed by contractors. Soldiers were expected to carry three days' rations in their haversacks, a supply which they eked out by depredations on the country. Detachments baked in the neighboring towns : small ones were boarded by the inhabitants.

All this practically prevented troops from moving to any distance from their magazines. When an army had got five

days' march away from its principal magazine, it must sit down and wait for the establishment of a new one. While this made it reasonably certain that the troops would be fed, it prevented any but the slowest and most limited movements. Turenne broke through this magazine habit, and frequently rationed his army by forced requisitions on the country. At times his marches were rapid and extensive.

Medical service was more carefully attended to in this era than ever before. Especially the French had an excellent hospital staff attached to its armies; not excellent in the sense of our Sanitary Commission or the Red Cross service, but a marked gain on what existed in the previous generations. For in almost all wars prior to this period, to be severely wounded meant, if massacre was escaped, to be left to the tender mercies of the elements, or to the robbery and violence of the human wolves who prowled about the battlefields.

A marked factor in the slow and trammelled method of the armies of this era was the control exercised over generals in the field by the home government, either king or minister. A general had his plan of campaign marked out to him by men quite unfamiliar with war, and certain geographical limitations were set to his action, irrespective of any conditions which might arise. Marshal Turenne was a noteworthy example of this pernicious interference. And as, moreover, wars were wont to be conducted by allies, the general of each army being subject to separate control, as well as not infrequently at odds with his fellows, the lack of vigor and purpose was scarcely to be wondered at. We have only to recall Condé in the service of the Spanish government, to see how great this evil might be.

But in the armies themselves, the imitation of Gustavus, even if misguided, had brought about a much better state of

discipline than had theretofore existed. Except that gold and family influence were potent to secure military commissions or unearned promotion, and that luxury was rampant in many of the armies, — things never tolerated by Gustavus, — this feature is a distinct tribute to the great Swede.

The end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century formed a brilliant epoch in engineering. Especially in France and the Netherlands, such distinguished men as Vauban and Coehorn carried this branch of the military art far beyond other countries. Fortifications covered every part of Europe. Whole frontiers bristled with them, and every important town became a fortress. The skill with which works were erected to resist the armament of the day is beyond praise.

The art of besieging was equally advanced by the introduction of parallels and ricochet firing, and in the improvements of the methods of approach.

This era, then, is one of the growth of deployments for firing, as against the massing of troops; of the use of cold steel; of brilliant advance in engineering; of wrong or mistaken theories and singular immobility of armies. Yet it was an era which continued the good work begun by Gustavus Adolphus, and helped to lay the foundation for the new art of war to be soon expounded by the great masters, Frederick and Napoleon.

Owing to the general introduction of firearms, and to the vast increase of material of war, which it was deemed essential to transport with the armies; and owing to the necessity of securely keeping this material and of safely bringing it to the front, there grew to be a nervous dread on the part of the commanding officers, of being severed from their communications. Gustavus had introduced method into war; his successors and imitators sought to reduce his

method to a set of theoretical rules, which should bind every one, under however varying factors. As in the case of other great captains, Gustavus' imitators failed to understand his method, and while copying his detail, quite lost sight of his general aim. Unmindful of changed conditions, forgetful that Gustavus could be bold and rapid as well as methodical and cautious, the theorists of this era sought, by blind adherence to his system of slow and cautious manœuvres, to develop a new art of war. So soon as they entered a territory, they intrenched themselves so as to be sure to hold it; they contented themselves with capturing or defending fortresses; they dared not move far from their magazines lest these should be cut off by the enemy, and they rarely went beyond the conduct of small war. The fact that the early wars of this era were largely in the Netherlands, a country dotted with fortified towns, and cut by numerous rivers, dikes and artificial streams, increased the timidity of the prevailing method, and reduced operations to cautious manœuvring to cut the enemy's or preserve one's own communications with important magazines.

It was deemed practically impossible to pass an enemy's fortress without leaving a large force to observe it. Sieges were long, and costly in men and material; a captured town was wont to be destroyed during or after the siege; and the vicinity was invariably reduced to a desert. Or, at a given period in the siege, the garrison capitulated, marched out to join its own forces, and large sums were spent to repair the damage done. The more fortresses an army of invasion captured the more garrisons it detailed, and the weaker it became; the enemy, meanwhile, gaining as it lost.

The objective of a campaign was, as a rule, the capture of some special fortress, and one half the army would besiege it while the other manœuvred to keep the enemy from

approaching to raise the siege. If it was a campaign of manœuvres on the enemy's communications, the army was split up into detachments, each of which conducted an absurd small war, in the belief that the sum of the small successes would add up to as much as the result of one great victory. More than half the time, armies were consuming bread, and using up material, without doing any acts which, according to our estimate, fall under the head of conducting serious war.

As pursuit was never made, so battles lacked character and decisiveness. This grew to be so marked a feature of the system that military men finally came to condemn battles as costly in lives and unfruitful in results. To come to battle was deemed almost a blunder; such a campaign as 1646 or 1675 was deemed to show higher skill than those culminating in distinguished battles, even if decisive; and except Blenheim, Turin and Ramillies, all the general engagements of this era might in a sense be called useless, for no results followed on a victory. The march on and battle of Turin was a brilliantly conceived and ably conducted operation, taken as a whole, the best of this era; but even Blenheim and Ramillies were fruitful quite as much by accident as by design. The battles of Condé and Turenne were in no sense as clear in design and decisive in results as was Turin; or indeed as were Breitenfeld or Lützen.

With the disappearance of battles as a factor in the success of operations, there arose a false estimate of the value of movements or positions taken to sever the communications of the enemy, or to conserve one's own. A general who compelled his enemy to retreat by cutting him off from his magazines of food or war-material was held to do a more able act than one who in a great battle destroyed his enemy's army; and he was honored accordingly. Thus the usual campaign was narrowed down to operations against the enemy's com-

munications, to feints to draw his attention from the real manœuvre, to attacks on isolated places by lesser detachments, and to small war of all kinds. Armies sought positions of security and intrenched, or else shut themselves up in fortified towns or camps. Nothing was done without the aid of strong lines. It was the era of the spade. The general who best understood how to suit his works to his position was the man who won. For to attack a fortified line was deemed a hazard not to be lightly undertaken.

War lost somewhat of its horrors, to be sure, but the loss of men, owing to the long drawn out character of the operations, was no less than of yore ; and the expenditure of wealth was greater. Wars were wont to be ended by the exhaustion of the exchequer of one or other opponent, not by any particular military success.

The result of all this misapplication of principle was that, with the exception of a few brilliant generals, war was conducted on an entirely fictitious basis. Nothing in war except the campaigns of these generals can be deemed other than trivial. Even they were often trammelled by the slow and ill-conceived method of the day. Whatever success was won by Turenne, Condé, Eugene, Marlborough, Montecuculi, Vendome and Villars was due to their own individuality and strength. But though it is their campaigns which developed whatever growth there was, none of them can be said to have earned the place in the rank of Great Captains which is clearly due to Gustavus Adolphus.



Pistol Sword. (16th Century.)

XLVI.

TURENNE IN HOLLAND. 1672.

WHILE the other European powers were busy, Louis XIV. saw a chance to conquer the Netherlands, and in 1667-68, with Turenne leading, he overran Flanders, and Vauban fortified it. Meanwhile Condé conquered Franche Comté. The Dutch formed a Triple Alliance with Sweden and England to restore the balance of power; but in 1672 this was broken up, and Louis had such allies that he could invade Holland from the east. Under Turenne and Condé, Louis' army, one hundred thousand strong, entered Holland. The generals advised destroying all the fortresses they took so as not to parcel out the troops in garrisons, and to push on to Amsterdam; but Louis and Louvois, his war-minister, could not see so far; time was lost, and William of Orange flooded the country, and prevented an advance. In August Turenne, with seventeen thousand men, was sent to head off the two armies under the Great Elector and Montecuculi, forty-three thousand strong, which were marching to the relief of Holland; and was ordered also to protect Alsatia. Though much hampered by his instructions, he was able, by skillful operations, to prevent the two allied armies from joining, and both returned homeward.

RICHIEU had left France the most powerful nation of Western Europe, and Mazarin followed in his footsteps. The native abilities of Louis XIV., who succeeded to the government in 1661, were well seconded by the executive power of his ministers, Colbert and Louvois, of whom the first doubled the revenue without correspondingly oppressing the people, and the latter reorganized the army and made it an excellent fighting machine.

The other European powers had each its own serious troubles. Spain had been drained by the late wars; England under the Stuarts had lost the importance it had possessed under Cromwell; Holland was mainly devoted to fostering its

trade, and increased its fleet to the detriment of its army; Germany was so completely exhausted by the Thirty Years' War as to be out of the race; Austria was equally weak, and could scarcely hold head to the Hungarian insurrection and the war with Turkey.

Louis XIV. saw an excellent opportunity of increasing his territory by conquering Brabant and Flanders, to whose possession he alleged a right on behalf of his wife, the daughter of Philip IV. of Spain, just dead. The right was no better nor worse than any other *casus belli* of the day; the ambition of Louis is a sufficient explanation. The alleged claim was that the Spanish possessions in the Belgian provinces were personal estates of the Spanish Hapsburgs, and that their descent should naturally follow local law, which would give these provinces to Maria Theresa. That she had renounced her right of inheritance was voided, Louis alleged, by the non-payment of her dowry.

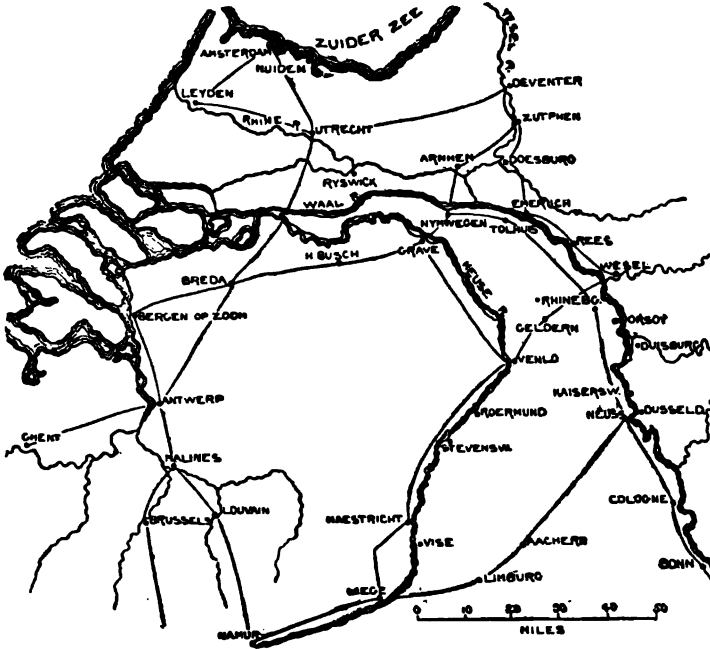
In 1667-68, with Turenne at the head of his principal army, Louis overran Flanders, in a campaign which was more like a triumphal march than serious war; and Vauban was directed to put the conquered fortresses in a condition of perfect defense. In 1668 Condé conquered Franche Comté with equal ease, overrunning the province in two weeks.

John De Witt, Pensioner of Holland, alarmed at these unwarranted proceedings, and fearful for the independence of his fatherland, formed with England and Sweden a Triple Alliance to preserve the balance of power. This temporarily forestalled Louis' plans, and at the peace of Aix la Chapelle in 1668, France returned Franche Comté to Spain and received in exchange twelve fortresses, among them Lille, Tournay and Oudenarde, on the Spanish Netherlands frontier. This was but an interlude, for Louis harbored a solid hatred for Holland, where refugees from France were protected and

allowed to issue their abusive pamphlets. In 1672 Louis, with that clever diplomatic intrigue in which he and his advisers were easily first, made a private treaty in which he purchased Charles II. of England, and another with Sweden. These treaties broke up the Triple Alliance; and by able manipulations Louis managed to enlist against Holland the sympathies of Emperor Leopold I., the Great Elector Frederick William of Brandenburg, the duke of Neuenburg, the pope, and the duke of Savoy; while other interested powers, including the king of Denmark and the electors of Trier and Mainz, remained neutral. Savoy promised three thousand men. Cologne and Münster were prevailed on to join France, and this important accession enabled Louis to create magazines near by her border and to invade Holland from the weakest spot, the east, where only partially fortified cities, such as Arnhem, Doesburg, Zütphen and Deventer, lay; whereas, on the south, opposite France, Holland was very strong, being protected by the Meuse and the Waal, and by a series of strong places, among them Bergen op Zoom, Breda, Herzogenbusch (Bosch), Grave and Nymwegen, in addition to the outlying fortress of Maestricht with a heavy garrison of thirteen thousand men; and on the lower Rhine, Wesel, Emmerich, Rheinberg and other fortified towns. That Louis was angry at Holland for setting bounds to his late attempt at conquest, and jealous of her blooming commerce, was an augury that the war would be more than mere play. The German alliances procured for Louis an accession of twenty thousand troops. He was overwhelmingly strong.

Turenne drew up the plans for the campaign, to which Condé contributed his approval. Depots of victual and material were to be established in the territory of Cologne and Münster, whence the invasion was to be made as a base; and instead of wasting time on besieging sundry fortresses, the

armies were to disregard these, turn them or observe them, and march as a body on Amsterdam, the capital. If fortresses were taken, they were to be dismantled, to save the detailing of garrisons, and thus weakening the main body of troops. This excellent plan, which distinctly foreshadowed the new art of war, was carried out so far only as the march



Holland.

into Holland from the east was concerned. Louis and Louvois were not abreast with such intelligent ideas. It was only such an intellect as Turenne possessed which could grasp the advantages and promise of such a scheme.

The French army was one hundred and two thousand strong, and was early assembled in cantonments: sixty thousand between the Sambre and Meuse, thirty thousand between

the Meuse and Moselle, and twelve thousand in the Cologne district. This force was then concentrated in two main bodies, one of sixty thousand men under the king, with the duke of Orleans and Turenne as leaders, and one of twenty-five thousand men under Condé, while a number of smaller detachments were to be devoted to various outside purposes. At sea the Count d'Estrées, with forty-four ships of the line, was to join the duke of York with fifty. It should be noted that Condé and Turenne had become reconciled; the pique of the former had died with time, and they worked in unison and goodfellowship thenceforth.

The Dutch had but twenty-five thousand land troops, and these were mercenaries. But gallant De Ruyter commanded ninety-one ships of the line; the land, cut up by canals and dikes, was excellently calculated for defense, and John De Witt was a man of force and ability.

The French had established magazines in Bonn, Neuss and Kaiserswerth, a fact from which De Witt drew a correct inference as to their intentions; and he proposed that Holland should take the offensive and move into the electorates of Cologne and Münster, there to destroy these stores before the French army had rendezvoused in the vicinity. But jealousies and enmities prevented the recognition of his wisdom; the states-general decided against his plan on the silly plea that France had not yet declared war.

Early in 1672 the French invaded Holland without delay-
ing to besiege Maestricht, which they masked. The main body, under the king, but really led by Condé and Turenne, crossed to the right bank of the Meuse at Visé, above Maestricht, marched on the lower Rhine, and occupied without difficulty the ill-defended fortresses of Orsoy and Rees, which were taken by Turenne, and Wesel and Emmerich, which surrendered to Condé, as well as some others, the garrisons

of all of which were either frightened into surrender by the native populace, or their commanders — as a cheaper plan — bribed by the French generals. Condé and Turenne then, in the face of the enemy, and with a promptness which gave them a marked moral advantage over the Dutch — though the operation itself was easy — crossed the Rhine near Tollhuis, below Emmerich, at a place where, owing to the low water of this year, the most part of the stream could be forded by the cavalry, and there was scarce a hundred feet to swim. There was some small opposition made by a body of Dutch troops, but the French cavalry van soon drove it off; and a bridge having been thrown, the rest of the horse and all the foot speedily crossed. Condé was wounded, and being moreover prostrated by the gout, Turenne remained in sole control.

The prince of Orange had taken position at Arnhem beyond the Yssel with the Dutch army, but on Turenne's advance he retired from this position towards Utrecht, rather than have Arnhem turned, as Turenne manifestly proposed to do. Turenne passed the Yssel near its mouth and occupied Arnhem. He now urged the king to push immediately on with the entire force towards Amsterdam, to which the road was quite open, and to within a few miles of which city some advanced parties, four thousand strong, sent ahead under Rochefort, had already penetrated.

De Ruyter had some success against the allied fleets; but at this time — August 27 — the De Witts fell a sacrifice to an unreasoning popular tumult, and had Turenne's plan been carried out, nothing could have saved Holland. William of Orange, then twenty-two years old, was made stadtholder, and put at the head of affairs. Louis, at Louvois' instance, did just the reverse of what Turenne advised; he divided his army into detachments and set to

work besieging the fortresses of Nymwegen, Doesburg, Grave, Herzogenbusch and others, and parceled out his forces in garrisoning the captured places. The Dutch were never lacking in self-sacrifice for their little land, and they now resorted to extreme measures. The opening of the sluices and the cutting of the dikes put the whole country under water, and saved Amsterdam and the province of Holland from the French invasion. This inundation could have been prevented by Rochefort's seizing Muiden, where is situated the inlet of the canals; but this he foolishly omitted to do, though the place was within his grasp; and, having covered the country with water, William placed his army of thirteen thousand men upon the principal dikes leading to Amsterdam, now the only high roads for advance or retreat. The operations were thus limited so that a small force was the equal of a big one, and William was able to conclude alliances with Austria, Spain, Brandenburg, most of Germany and Denmark, and later too with England. Thus came about a general European war.

To the peculiar terrain of Holland was in large measure due the course undertaken by Louis and Louvois. No country has ever been so profusely sown with fortresses, small and great; no country is easier to defend, harder to attack. The Dutch were good soldiers, and fought tenaciously for such fortresses as Maestricht, Lüttich and Namur, such towns as Brussels and Antwerp. Another reason prevailed for the peculiar irregularity of Dutch operations. During all the wars of this era in the Low Countries, the troops under arms belonged to many nations and races, and served under many commanders; and it was no more due to the numerous fortresses than it was to the jealousies of the respective allied governments and of the rival generals, that the campaigns on Dutch soil were wont to be so singularly unsystematic.

Until the opening of winter the flooded country precluded manœuvres of any kind ; and Turenne counseled a movement in force against Germany to forestall an attack by the new allies of Holland. But Louvois would not give up his plan of reducing the strong places, to which duty he assigned the duke of Luxemburg ; and the latter, with sixteen thousand men, was ordered to take position near Utrecht, which had been recently captured, while Turenne was detached with a paltry force of twelve thousand men to operate to the east of the Meuse and Waal and watch for the crossing of the elector of Brandenburg. Thus by fruitless detachments and sieges, out of a force originally of one hundred thousand men, a bare eighth was allotted to the leading French general with which to do an all-important part of its legitimate work.

Louvois always acted in a jealous, almost a childish spirit towards Turenne, and was constantly doing uncalled-for and unwise things. On payment of a small ransom, for example, he discharged all the garrisons captured in the towns he took, — some thirty thousand men, — thus furnishing the Dutch with fresh troops ; while the French were depleting their own numbers by garrisoning these same fortresses. Not that such action was unwarrantable from Louvois' standpoint ; but if success was to be sought in worsting the enemy, this was no way to accomplish that end.

In August two new armies came upon the scene : one of twenty-four thousand men, under the Great Elector, moved from Halberstadt towards Hildesheim, and an imperial army of nineteen thousand men under Field-Marshal Montecuculi advanced from Bohemia towards Erfurt ; and these two proposed, after making a junction, to cross the Rhine and operate in the rear of Luxemburg, to cut him off from France or compel him to retreat from Holland. The only force to oppose these armies and prevent their crossing the Rhine was

Turenne's army of twelve thousand men. This was in truth a lamentable ending of the brilliant array which crossed the Rhine at Tollhuis not many weeks before.

Turenne knew his opponents, and gauged their plans with skill. He had only boldness and energy to oppose to their numbers. He knew that they would not enter Alsatia, but push direct for Holland; and he believed that they would not operate with unity. Despite his being but one third of the enemy in strength, with a boldness quite at odds with the timorous habit of the day, he determined not to defend the left bank, but to cross the Rhine himself, and by an active offensive seek to checkmate their plan on the right bank. Indeed, Montecuculi had orders, though Turenne was unaware of it, not to conduct an offensive campaign, but to oppose such an one on the elector's part; for the emperor was kept in a state of anxiety by the Turks in Poland and by Hungarian revolts, and was afraid to launch out in a whole-souled manner. Turenne increased his force to seventeen thousand men by detachments from the garrisons of Wesel, Rees and Emmerich, and marched from Wesel up the Lippe to Westphalia. The allies, who were aiming at the same general point to compel the elector of Cologne and the bishop of Münster to restore to the Dutch the territory taken from them, and to give up their alliance with the French, on hearing of Turenne's movements changed their course southerly towards Fulda. Turenne pushed on up the right bank of the Rhine to Coblentz, and forced them to move still further south into the Main region, so that they could not approach the Rhine to effect a crossing until after passing to the south of the Main.

Fearing for Alsatia, though indeed there was no threat to that province, Louis ordered Turenne back to the left bank of the Rhine, and sent Condé with eight thousand men to

support him. The prince of Orange made a feint towards the Rhine to aid his allies in crossing it; but the operation, owing to the many though dispersed French detachments in Holland, proved to be slow and weakly conducted. He only captured Fauquemme and made an attempt on Charle-roi. The allies, after failing to cross on the usual bridges at Mainz and again at Strasburg, finally managed to put their army over at Mainz on a bridge of their own; but they were soon forced by Turenne and Condé to recross, and winter, sickness and hunger drove them, in January, 1673, back to Lippstadt in Westphalia. This was well; but from Lippstadt there was danger that the allies might march to the west and cross the Yssel into Holland; and Turenne determined to prevent this also.

He had been forbidden by Louvois to again cross the Rhine; but he went back of the minister and, on laying out his scheme, obtained permission from the king to do so. Moving down to Wesel, he put over and marched on Lippstadt with sixteen thousand men. Unable to act together, as Turenne had rightly estimated, the allies gave up the idea of wintering in Westphalia, and retired, the elector to Brandenburg, after Brunswick had refused him shelter and winter-quarters, and Montecuculi to Bohemia.

Thus by cleverly utilizing the want of unity of the allies, Turenne's manœuvres had driven them from the Rhine region back towards their respective bases, and had robbed Holland of two strong allied armies. The Great Elector, dissatisfied with the emperor's laxness, concluded peace with France. This peace was, however, of short duration; for in 1674 he renewed his alliance with Holland.



Pistol Sword. (16th Century.)

XLVII.

MONTECUCULI. 1673.

IN 1673 the emperor sent Montecuculi with twenty-five thousand men to join the prince of Orange at Bonn. Turenne, with twenty-three thousand, was given the task to protect Alsatia and to prevent this junction,—two irreconcilable duties. He advised marching to the Böhmerwald, if this was to be done; but permission was refused. Montecuculi feinted towards Alsatia and then marched on the Main. The bishop of Würzburg, though a neutral, opened his bridges to the imperialists and closed them to the French, and Turenne was much delayed. Montecuculi manœuvred with exceeding ability; avoided battle, which Turenne sought to force on him; and made good his crossing of the Main. Turenne, taking out garrisons, had but eighteen thousand men, and could not operate as boldly as he would have liked, owing to his orders to protect Alsatia. Though he knew that Montecuculi would not attempt to enter Alsatia, he yet had to keep south of the Main, having only one bridge. Politics had aided Montecuculi's able manœuvres, and he made his junction with the Dutch at Bonn. This campaign redounds much to his credit.

ONE of the best generals of this era, and the more interesting on account of his Military Memoirs, was Count Raimondo Montecuculi. We have from time to time met him in minor commands previous to the last campaign. Born in Modena in 1608, of a military family, he ran away from home to embrace the career of arms, enlisted and rose from the ranks. He served with Tilly in 1629–30, where he won a name for exceptional bravery. He was in numerous engagements, at the battles of Breitenfeld and Nördlingen, repeatedly led storming parties, was often wounded and captured; and wherever he stood, he distinguished himself. By 1642 he had passed through all ranks to major-general, and two years later he became field-marshal. In the emperor's service he

was never out of employment and always at the front. In 1657 he first commanded an independent army, which consisted of twenty thousand men and operated in Silesia, and later he served in Denmark and against the Turks. No general of this period has a better claim to rank with such men as Turenne, Eugene and Marlborough, than Raimondo Montecuculi.

In the spring of 1673 the emperor made a formal declaration of war against France, and planned to push a heavy column under Montecuculi from Bohemia towards the Rhine, where, near Bonn, it should cross and join the prince of Orange, who would pass the Meuse to meet him. Turenne wisely advised that an army be sent to the Böhmerwald — the rugged mountainous country which forms the western boundary of Bohemia — to forestall this movement. But Louis opposed the plan, and insisted that Turenne should take up a position on the left bank of the Rhine in Alsatia and confine himself to its defense, and to interrupting the two allied armies in their projected junction. He was given twenty-three thousand men to carry out these two utterly inconsistent projects. Again appealing to the king, Turenne obtained leave from him to conduct a defensive campaign on the right bank of the Rhine, but though he desired to manœuvre well to the north of the Main, where he had a number of magazines left over from the last campaign, when he was opposing the junction of the elector of Brandenburg and Montecuculi, he was limited to operating in the Main country proper; and he was particularly warned to do nothing which might



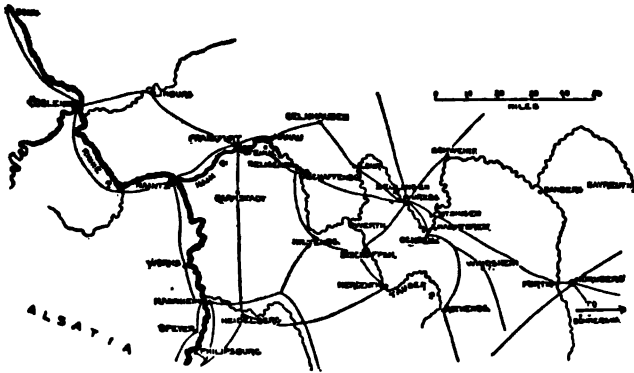
Montecuculi.

offend the neutral states. In other words, his hands were absolutely tied. He furnished the brain and force, but his superiors would not afford him the opportunity. He was held to prevent the junction of the imperial and Dutch armies on his left and to protect Alsatia on his right, and was limited in his movements,—instructions which before he opened the campaign promised failure in both tasks. In his frank but clear manner, Turenne protested that the French troops in the Netherlands were the ones to prevent the junction of the Dutch and imperialists; that to protect Alsatia was quite inconsistent with this duty; but Louvois would no longer give way, and Turenne set about his thankless task.

To mislead Turenne as to his intentions, Montecuculi, after crossing the Böhmerwald, which he did in all security, directed his march, not on Bonn, but towards Nürnberg, as if to move well south of the Main and threaten Alsatia. Turenne, instead of being allowed to manœuvre as he deemed best, was at once ordered from the right to the left bank of the Main, with a strict injunction to pay first heed to Alsatia; but the German princes, who were more inclined to favor the emperor than the French, denied him the use of the neutral bridges at Aschaffenburg and Würzburg; and he was in consequence compelled to build one for himself near Seligenstadt. The spun-out negotiations in respect to these bridges materially delayed him, and when the bishop of Würzburg finally promised neutrality and Turenne was half unwillingly permitted to cross at Aschaffenburg, Montecuculi had already got from Nürnberg into the Main country. After occupying Aschaffenburg and sending his van to establish magazines in Miltenburg, Bishofsheim and various other places along the Tauber, which he deemed the best line to prevent the enemy's access to Alsatia, Turenne crossed the Main with

the bulk of the army, and moved to Mergentheim early in September, to get nearer the enemy and ascertain his movements.

Montecuculi was evidently hugging the Main, and Turenne, so soon as he perceived his direction, crossed the Tauber and moved towards the Rothemburg country. The enemy, on September 10, took up a position at Windsheim; Turenne sat down in his front ready to move to right or left as his opponent should head to the Main or towards Alsatia. He was limited in his orders, and knew that he was facing an able general.



Turenne and Montecuculi.

The imperial general had fifteen thousand foot and ten thousand horse; Turenne, taking out garrisons, had fourteen thousand foot and four thousand horse. Montecuculi's intention was clearly to draw Turenne away from the Main, and then, himself speedily crossing, to oblige the French to take the longer road on the south bank, while he should push straight for Bonn. Although on general probabilities Turenne may have presumed as much, yet he could not divine the purpose of his antagonist, and to defend Alsatia had been made his paramount duty.

Turenne desired battle. If he beat the enemy, he would

have accomplished his end of holding Montecuculi back from both the Rhine and Alsatia; if beaten, he could still retire fighting to the Tauber or the Rhine, and he felt, as always, confident that he should prevail. The object of Montecuculi was to join the prince of Orange intact; to fight was not in his programme; but he did not want Turenne to think so. He had a solid respect for his great opponent, and cared to take no liberties with him. Both generals manœuvred as for battle not far from Rothemburg; and the imperialists drew up in battle-order; but Montecuculi kept out his first line, made no special advances towards accepting battle, and under its protection and before Turenne could marshal his forces and get into fighting contact, started on a skillful flank march with his baggage and second line towards the Main. Concealed by rising ground, the first line followed before Turenne could attack. The manœuvre had been brilliantly executed.

So soon as Turenne discovered the withdrawal of the enemy, which he did just as his preparations had been completed, he marched by his own left in the same direction, and though he had lost much ground by the delay, he overtook the enemy. The imperial army, for fear of having its tactical shifting of ground turned into a retreat by an attack on its rear, again stopped and drew up; and soon reaching a point opposite the new position of the enemy, Turenne reconnoitred and found that the imperial general had drawn up his line with a hill in his rear and a swamp on both flanks and in front, where he could not be assailed with any chance of success.

That the two armies thus marched on parallel lines in the immediate neighborhood of each other, and without any attack on the part of Turenne, is explainable only by the difficulty in those days of deploying the cumbrous battalions

into battle-order. Even the flankers did not seriously exchange fire, and Turenne was able to pick up but a few stragglers and wagons. The ideas of old soldiers who have served in these days of rapid manœuvres must be modified before they can appreciate the operations of an army of the seventeenth century.

Both armies thus marched north to the angle of the Main, where, September 12, Montecuculi took up position at Marktbreit, and Turenne, restricted in his operations, placed himself in his front, on the hills not far back from the river, watching his chance to attack the imperialists when they should attempt to cross.

Montecuculi had worked hard, and had manifestly gained the advantage. He could now cross the Main. Had Turenne been able to prevent his so doing, it would have seriously limited the operations of the imperial general, and at the same time have protected Alsatia. But Montecuculi had outmanœuvred him, and was well posted on the river. Some critics make this march a long-pondered and deep-laid plan of the imperial marshal; but he himself does not claim it to be so, and it appears rather to have been an operation undertaken on the spur of the moment when he met the French at an unexpected place.

Montecuculi was now admirably placed; the result of his manœuvres was all that he could ask. Nearly all the bridges up the river were at his disposal, for, after some negotiation, the bishop of Würzburg broke his neutrality and allowed Montecuculi any privilege he asked; so that he could take the straight road by Würzburg and Lohr, threaten Aschaffenburg, where Turenne had his only bridge, and thus sever his communications with the lower Rhine country. Politics was fighting against Turenne as well as the able conduct of his adversary. Well aware of this fact, Turenne hurried a

few hundred dragoons to reinforce the garrison of Aschaffenburg, and remained with the balance to confront Montecuculi on the Tauber; for if he committed the error of crossing the Main before his opponent, the road to Alsatia would be left open; and though convinced that Montecuculi had not the slightest intention of invading Alsatia, Turenne might not disregard his instructions.

Unwilling to remain in the camp he had taken up back of Ochsenfurt, not only because he saw small chance of interfering with Montecuculi, but because the water supply was difficult and had already led to some hostile exchanges, Turenne sent the train ahead September 19, and next day the army followed. Wertheim and places enough on the Tauber were occupied to protect the magazines and to overawe the population, which was anti-French to the core. Glad to be rid of his opponent without battle, Montecuculi, whose reinforcements had run his force up to forty thousand men, left Marktbreit September 26, and pursuing the straight road, crossed the Main at Kitzingen September 27, and again at Würzburg next day, and camping at Zellingen, began to construct two bridges at Lohr to again reach the right bank. Once there, Montecuculi would have all Turenne's magazines north of the Main at his mercy, and indeed did carry off one convoy.

While at Zellingen, Montecuculi's army was in the *cul-de-sac* here formed by a northerly bend of the Main; but Turenne declined to attack him, as the country was heavily wooded and unfavorable, contained no suitable battle-ground, and especially as since Montecuculi's reinforcements had arrived, he had with him but an inferior force. Circumstances had compelled him to parcel out his army, because limited to a defensive campaign; while Montecuculi kept the imperialists in one body and well in hand, with a clean-cut

purpose. What here happened well illustrates the advantages of the initiative.

Anxious to ascertain Montecuculi's intention, whether to march on Coblenz or to attack Aschaffenburg, whose garrison he had now increased to one thousand men, Turenne sent a large cavalry party to Wertheim to observe the river up and down, and throw a bridge at Miltenburg, to which he built a bridge-head. Montecuculi, with his larger army, could readily hold Turenne on the left bank and commit havoc on the right by suitable detachments; and Turenne, under his limited instructions, had to be watchful to commit no error. He sent and led out several reconnoitring parties, but ascertained little, for the enemy kept a heavy curtain of parties out. On October 3 Montecuculi crossed at Lohr and broke the bridges. He was now nearer Aschaffenburg and Frankfort than the French, and he made a clever feint as if to threaten Turenne's bridge. With the idea, fostered by the parties which the imperial general sent out to observe the river, that Montecuculi might possibly recross the Main, if only as a diversion, the French marshal strengthened all the places from Rothemburg to Aschaffenburg so as to make the line of the Tauber and Main a network of troops. But when Turenne learned that Montecuculi had marched to Gelnhausen on the road to Frankfort, he made a strong demonstration on Steinheim, opposite Hanau, to lead his opponent to believe that he would cross there, — an operation which had some effect on the neutrality of Frankfort, but in no wise hindered the enemy. Montecuculi then pushed straight on to Coblenz, where he crossed the Rhine, and marching rapidly on Bonn, joined the prince of Orange, as projected. He had, assisted by the friendly neutrality of the bishop of Würzburg, fairly outmanœuvred Turenne, whom he had been able, by marching behind the Main, to keep in

ignorance of his movements, and who was hampered by his absurd home orders, and by the necessity of handling the neutral territory with delicacy. His instructions compelled him to hold fast to the Tauber and Aschaffenburg, while Montecuculi had a clearer purpose, a larger force and an open road. For all this the manœuvre redounds to the latter's credit as one of the most interesting pieces of work of this war.

In 1763 Condé had been conducting a campaign in Holland, while Louis XIV., aided by the skill of Vauban, personally besieged and took Maestricht; but from a multiplicity of reasons, Condé accomplished nothing against William of Orange, who managed, as agreed, to advance to Bonn to meet Montecuculi. In order to victual, Turenne withdrew to Philipsburg, where he crossed the Rhine, but to find none of the rations which had been promised by Louvois. All these adverse circumstances so greatly delayed his operations that he could in no event have reached the Netherlands in season to be of service. He had been able to protect Alsatia, but this province had in reality not been threatened, and Louvois' nervous fear for it had prevented Turenne from heading off the imperial army from its actual objective.

Spain had joined the allies. The prince of Orange had thirty thousand Dutch-Spanish troops, and with Montecuculi he captured Bonn, and overran the whole region between the Meuse and Rhine, a proceeding which Condé with his twelve thousand men had been unable to prevent. By the operations, originating in the hostility of Spain, the duke of Luxemburg, still conducting a war of sieges in the Netherlands, was practically cut off from France, but under Louvois' orders he garrisoned such of the strong places as he could, and, despite all the allies' efforts, made good his junction with Condé. Maestricht was retaken from the French, a loss Louis could ill afford.

The elector of Cologne and the bishop of Münster now forsook France for the allied cause; and England, for lack of supplies which the parliament would not vote, made peace with Holland. The whole aspect of the war changed.

In this campaign the allies had the advantage. The French had to vacate Holland, and the allies set themselves down firmly there. It was a campaign of manœuvres solely, marked by not a single battle. Turenne had done all that his impossible orders and his limited force permitted; but circumstances favored the enemy and not Turenne. His advice in 1672 to raze the captured Dutch fortresses was now well proven to be sound. By their retention nothing whatever had been gained, and by garrisoning them heavily the forces in the field under Luxemburg, Condé and Turenne had been kept at such low water mark that nothing could be expected of them.

Montecuculi deserves all credit for cleverly utilizing his advantages. Opposed to Turenne, another might have let them slip.



Garde du Corps.
(1688.)

XLVIII.

SENEF, AUGUST 11, AND SINSHEIM, JUNE 16, 1674.

FRANCE now assumed a defensive rôle. In 1674 Condé fought a drawn battle with the prince of Orange at Senef to prevent him from invading France. There is little in this engagement except the large forces and the desperate fighting to make it noteworthy, and Condé attacked with but a portion of his army. The rest of the campaign was trivial. Turenne, with a much smaller force, had Alsatia to defend, and did this by crossing the Rhine to attack the enemy. He found them at Sinsheim, where they had taken up an almost unassailable position on a high plateau. Here, quite against the rules of the art of that day, Turenne attacked the enemy and defeated him badly. There was no more actual gallantry in his assault than in Condé's at Senef, but there was vastly more calculation, and the battle had better results. Still, the whole Sinsheim operation was not much more than a raid, — a blow at the enemy to forestall one by him.

By the extensive combination against her, France was now reduced to a defensive rôle; but this did not prevent her generals from attacking the enemy. In 1674 Condé again commanded in the Netherlands, and on the 11th of August, to check the Dutch advance, he fought the bloody but drawn battle of Senef with the prince of Orange, who had advanced well on into Brabant. No peculiar results followed what the French deemed a victory.

There is little about the battle of Senef except the furious fighting pushed by Condé, and the enormous loss stated to have been suffered by the allies, which commends it to our notice; and it is quite doubtful whether the statement that the priests and their helpers, after the battle, buried twenty-seven thousand bodies (or half the number) within a space

of three leagues, is true. It was said in a letter of the Marquis of Louvois, written at the time, that the French loss was seven thousand men killed and wounded; and that it was suspected that in this number had been counted all those who, since the campaign opened, had died or deserted.

The Stadtholder had sixty-five thousand men; Condé forty-five thousand. The allies had advanced to Nivelles, where they threatened Courtray and Oudenarde, and were thought to be projecting the invasion of France by way of Mons and Cambray. Condé lay not far from Charlevoi, on a species of island surrounded by a marshy stream, where the prince of Orange could not well attack him; and deciding therefore to advance on Quesnoy, the allies marched south to Senef, thus



Condé (late in life).

presenting the flank of their long column. On August 11, at the point of day, they broke camp in three columns, the imperialists, the Dutch and the Spaniards, with four thousand horse as rear-guard, heading along the Binche road for Fayx. Condé had likewise broken camp and moved towards the marching allies; and so soon as he perceived the order and direction of their columns, he resolved on attack. Though he had but his van with him, he sent a force to occupy Senef, and himself, at the head of his best cavalry, advanced on the rest of the allied rear-guard, which, so soon as the French were discovered, took up on their line of march a good position for defense. The preliminary attack succeeded in breaking up the rear-guard, and Condé, placing his battalions of foot, as they successively arrived, in the most advantageous

positions, advanced on the rear column of the enemy, which he had now got near. To hold head to Condé until the main body could return, this column had drawn up on a height approachable only through orchards and fields whose hedges had been filled with musketeers, and was backed by a heavy line of cavalry; but Condé's brilliant charge, well seconded by his lieutenants, bore fruit here also; and this column was driven back to the village of Fayx. The French leader had opened with all the fire he had shown at Rocroy.

To hold head against Condé's violent onset, the prince of Orange retraced his steps and drew up on the hills behind



Battle of Seneffe.

Fayx, which stand from a hundred to a hundred and fifty feet above the surrounding country, and whose slopes were at that time covered by gardens, hop-fields, quickset hedges and ditches. Into a ravine or hollow way on his left leading to a thick wood he threw some troops; on the

right, say the accounts, were marshes and orchards, and the ground was cut up so as to be capable of stubborn defense. Fayx, in front of his left centre, was held by the foot and artillery; the entire position was excessively strong.

Condé reconnoitred the new line, and despite its strength determined on attack. Luxemburg commanded the French right; Navailles the left; Condé and his son, the duke d'Enghien, the centre. Unwilling to wait for all his forces

to come up, lest the prince of Orange should make his position still more impregnable than it already was, Condé delivered battle with but a part of his army, and especially lacked infantry. Opposite Luxemburg were the Dutch; opposite Navailles the Spaniards. Condé in the centre proposed to attack that side of the village where lay the ravine. If he could occupy and hold this ravine, he would take the enemy in reverse and cut off the *élite* of their foot, which had been posted in Fayx. As he advanced, a body of imperial cavalry debouched from the wood to take his column of attack itself in flank, and Condé sent Luxemburg to head it off, which was successfully done. Meanwhile Navailles was keeping the Spaniards busy, but making no progress.

Condé's onset was superb, and its vigor hustled back the first line of the enemy; but the cool-headed prince of Orange promptly replaced it by the second. A repeated charge drove the enemy beyond the ravine, and the French were on the eve of raising the cry of victory. But to save the day there came to the rescue the heavy cavalry of the Stadtholder, and, outnumbered four to one, Condé was forced to a precipitate retreat.

Condé was always at his best in the glow of battle; defeat never cast him down. He gathered a column of cavalry and dragoons from Luxemburg, and once more drove in the enemy and solidly occupied the ravine. But horse alone could not keep what the impetuous rush had won. It needed foot. To hold the ravine definitely, Condé ordered forward two battalions of Swiss infantry, the only ones which happened to be at hand; but these men, already decimated, could not be got to advance; they had lost stomach for the day; and before other troops could be got up, the *élan* of the manœuvre was lost; the ravine was retaken by William, and with it the battle was forfeited.

Condé was in ill case. If he retired, he might be followed and beaten by superior numbers. He had no more foot which he could put in; his vanguard columns had hurried ahead of his *corps de bataille*; no artillery was at hand. All he could do was to hold his own till night; and this he did by repeated attacks, headed by Luxemburg and Navailles, on the village. Had the prince advanced in force on Condé he would have annihilated his army; but William, though astonishingly indifferent to defeat, always lacked that instinct of the captain which enables him to seize the auspicious moment, and was not enterprising in victory.

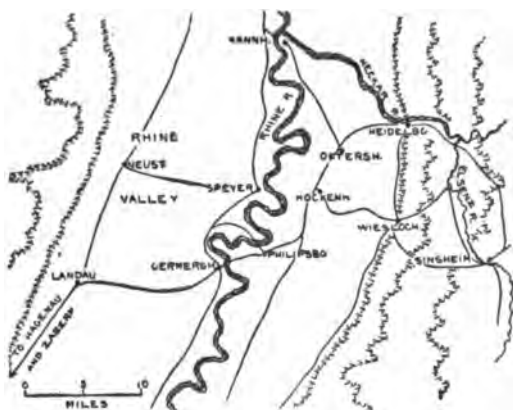
Night put an end to the battle; but desultory fighting was kept up till near midnight. The loss had been tremendous. Both armies were exhausted and terror-stricken, and both retired from the field. Condé's belated artillery and foot arrived during the night, too late to retrieve the disaster. It is said that Condé proposed to renew the combat on the morrow, with what was left of his cavalry and the foot and guns which had come up. But this was not to be.

It has been alleged that the allies confessed to fifteen thousand killed and five thousand captured. The number of officers lost was appalling. Few generals but had been killed or disabled. The retreat of the allies left the French a number of trophies. Condé treated the prisoners with generosity. Count Stahremberg, who was sent to Rheims, drank, at a banquet there held, to the health of the prince of Orange, who, he said, had promised him a glass of champagne in Champagne, "and he has kept his word!"

The rest of the campaign lacked importance. Condé had, to be sure, saved France from invasion, but at a very heavy cost. It seems as if he had been over eager in attacking with but a part of his force. He had won on other fields by the charges of cavalry alone, but this is not good tactics. "*C'est*

magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la guerre!" He could not expect that charges of horse, however ardent, would always demoralize the enemy, or insure his holding what he might win. Cavalry is limited by the terrain.

The elector of Brandenburg had again joined the allies; some minor princes had also sided against Louis XIV., and the task assigned Marshal Turenne in 1674 was that of defending Alsatia and the middle Rhine, for which duty twelve thousand men were given him. His main magazines



Sinsheim Operation.

were at Zabern (Saverne), and in its vicinity he took his stand. Near Heidelberg, on the other side and down the Rhine, lay an imperial and allied camp of ten thousand men under the duke of Lorraine and Marshal Caprara, and reinforcements from Franconia were on the way to join them under General Bournonville.

At the beginning of summer Caprara showed signs of opening operations, and the French commander decided to strike the imperial officer before his reinforcements should arrive. He had some fear that Alsatia might be attacked from the Moselle region, but he provided against this by a detachment

of cavalry on the Saar ; and with nine thousand five hundred men he crossed the Rhine on June 14 at Philipsburg, where he built a bridge ; and having drawn in a few thousand foot and horse, with six guns, from this fortress, as a vanguard, he moved towards Heidelberg by the straight road, to seek the enemy. At Hockenheim he ascertained that Caprara and the duke of Lorraine, having heard of his crossing, had broken up to march on Wimpfen, in the hope to forestall the French advance into the interior and prevent its arresting the march of Bournonville ; and sharply turning to the right on June 15 to Wiesloch, Turenne headed the imperial generals off. On the 16th, finding that the enemy was busy crossing from the left to the right bank of the Elsenz, he advanced on him and stopped him at Sinsheim.

Caprara, whose business it was to await reinforcements, should have, according to the ideas of that time, and indeed of any time, declined battle, as he could well have done by moving into a position which Turenne could not attack. But though he imagined that he had so done, his calculations proved unsound, and Turenne with characteristic boldness decided to force battle on him.

There are various accounts of the strength of the rival armies, but on the field they were not far from equal. Caprara and the duke had with them seven thousand horse, but not exceeding two thousand foot ; and they had taken up their stand on a plateau back of Sinsheim, with a steep access on all sides, and with the Elsenz like a double ditch in its front. They had occupied Sinsheim, an old fortified abbey near by, and the edges of the plateau, and deemed themselves quite secure. It was indeed a dubious place to attack. South of Sinsheim is a plain shut in by hills, and into this plain, south of the river, Turenne had debouched and formed line.

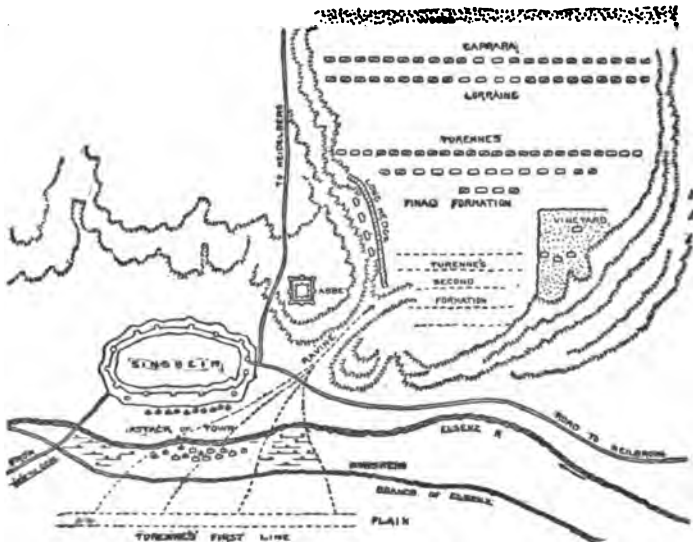
Caprara ought to have held Sinsheim in greater force ; but

he had placed only one thousand foot and four hundred dragoons in the gardens of the town, the town itself, the abbey and along the bank of the river, and had not sustained them by artillery. As Turenne had no excess of force, — five thousand foot and four thousand horse, — the task was a serious one to face. The imperialists had had a long rest and the troops were fresh, while the French had marched about ninety miles in four days and were tired and footsore. But Turenne wished to strike the enemy before he was reinforced, so as to open the campaign by a gain in moral force; and he decided on battle. There was, according to our ideas, an excellent chance of an attack on the enemy's right flank by a circuit around Sinsheim and up the Heidelberg road, but this was not within the ideas of the day. Parallel front attacks were universal. Despite their long march the spirit of the men was good, and with his usual confidence Turenne moved to the attack, meanwhile using his six guns to open his way.

In front of Sinsheim were gardens and hedges proper for defense, and though near the river were a number of low marshy places, it was fordable. Turenne detached a force of thirteen hundred foot and four squadrons of dragoons to attack the town. The troops went at their work cheerily, and in an hour had forced the river, driven the enemy out of the gardens and back into Sinsheim, and had reached the town ditch. Here was met a sharp fire, but the French waded the ditch, planted their ladders, and after another hour and a half forced an entrance, though the place was well defended, and had its streets barricaded with wine-barrels filled with earth and heavy beams from the houses. The abbey offered no defense whatever; its garrison fled, and reinforcements sent to it came too late. In Sinsheim Caprara forfeited a large part of his infantry force, — four hundred men being taken prisoners.

Having captured Sinsheim and driven the enemy away from the river, Turenne, not to allow him to recover from his surprise, turned quickly on his main force.

The plateau on which stood the imperialists was an immense triangle, at whose apex, near Sinsheim, was a ravine, up which Turenne must work his way in order to debouch in the open; and at the top there was but narrow space to



Battle of Sinsheim.

deploy his men. On each side of the defile lay steep, covered on the right by orchards and vineyards, on the left by a long quickset hedge, and everywhere practicable for unmounted men only. Marshaling his foot in the two wings so as by occupying the hedge and a walled vineyard to be able to drive out the enemy's light troops, still on the edge of the plateau, and placing his cavalry in the centre, he advanced. This was an intelligent formation, though a decided innovation on the rules of the day for battle-order; but Turenne

was, if anything, original. In this order the French vigorously advanced up the heights, and, as they debouched, the lines were formed with platoons of foot interspersed with the squadrons in the fashion of Gustavus. The guns were got up with the cavalry. Instead of disputing the possession of the ravine, the enemy had drawn up his cavalry well back on the plateau to keep away from Turenne's artillery fire, Caprara in the second line, the duke of Lorraine in the first; and this enabled the French the more easily to make their way up the slopes, and gave them more chance to deploy.

Turenne's bold advance on the enemy, rarely paralleled in those slow and unenterprising days, met with its well-deserved success. The foot, which had to climb up the rough, steep hillside, so as to leave the ravine for the cavalry, no sooner reached the level than it fell smartly on the imperial troops, which defended the edge of the plateau, and after a stout tussle, drove them in. Turenne had meanwhile been getting the cavalry forward into line, and, as it moved onward, its front was widened by additional squadrons on right and left. The French horse already in line vigorously charged home on the allied centre, but the right having gone ahead with too much ardor, Lorraine met it with a counter charge and drove it back. In following it up, however, he came on the French battalions, which met him with so hot a fire that he recoiled, and Turenne's horse again formed. When fully deployed, the first line was composed of cavalry with foot on either flank; and the second line of foot with horse on its flanks; while a mixed line of horse and foot stood in reserve. The field was covered with dust so thick as to quite hide the operations, but the lines fought stubbornly, and flags were taken and retaken again and again. Turenne, as always, was in the heat of the fray; with a few squadrons he was for an hour in the midst of the enemy's cuirassiers; after a struggle

which reflected credit on both sides, French fervor prevailed, and with much pushing to and fro, but without loss of courage or ground, the French drove the enemy from the field. The battle had lasted seven hours, much time having been consumed in preliminaries. Caprara and Lorraine retired very much broken, but not so well pursued as they might have been, by a circuit through the woods to Heilbronn, whence they returned, back of the Neckar, to Heidelberg.

The victory was complete; the French loss was thirteen hundred killed; the imperial loss two thousand men killed and six hundred prisoners. But even Turenne did not know how to utilize the gain. He retired June 20—possibly by orders from the Court—across the Rhine at Philipsburg and took post at Lachen near Neustadt, content with the punishment he had given the duke and Caprara. He shortly strengthened his force up to sixteen thousand men.

There was no more gallantry in Turenne's attack on Sinheim than in Condé's at Senef; but the former battle, associated with its entire operation, strikes us more favorably than the latter. Though the numbers engaged were less, the work was done in a broader style.

In a certain sense, in this raid, for it was little more, the gain was hardly worth the loss. We are not given Turenne's ideas with reference to it; and the old military writers devote much time to the description of battles, while rarely giving reasons for a captain's larger operations. A battle is the cutting of the knot; though it appeals to our sympathies, it is important mainly in its results; whereas the reason for this or that strategic manœuvre is of vastly greater moment. But we are rarely permitted to know what most interests us,—the impelling causes to any given manœuvre or battle. It is left to the military critic to guess these if he can; they alone elucidate the grand operations.

The province of war is not to kill. Killing is but an incident, and an unfortunate one, of war. To inflict a loss on the enemy unless such a loss accomplishes some end — as to put the enemy out of capacity to do harm for a season, and thus enable you to manœuvre to advantage — is no gain. To have a clearly defined purpose for a battle, or to utilize a victory properly, was, until the days of Frederick, almost an unknown thing. Gustavus was an exception; so, frequently, was Turenne, but not here, unless it can be claimed that the defeat at Sinsheim forestalled the allies in an invasion of Alsatia, of which there was no immediate probability. Turenne had struck the enemy before their junction with Bournonville, and had to a certain extent neutralized them; but this was all.



French Musketeer.
(End of 17th Century.)

XLIX.

ENTZHEIM, OCTOBER 4, 1674. TÜRKHEIM, JANUARY 5,
1675.

SHORTLY after Sinsheim, to forestall an invasion of Alsatia, Turenne again crossed the Rhine, advanced on the enemy, who lay back of the Neckar, and drove them towards the Main. Hereupon they crossed the Rhine and marched up towards Speyer, where, seeing no chance to operate advantageously, they recrossed, managed to reach Strasburg, and again entering Alsatia, took up a position at Entzheim. Here, October 4, Turenne attacked them. The enemy had over thirty-five thousand men; Turenne had but twenty-two thousand; but he put his men to good use, and fell with some effect on their left wing, so as to crowd them towards the Rhine. Though hotly contested, the battle was drawn and both armies retired; but the enemy vacated the field, while Turenne held it with a small force. The enemy was now joined by the elector of Brandenburg, which gave them fifty-seven thousand men, with which they went into winter-quarters. To crowd them out of Alsatia, Turenne made a winter march back of the Vosges Mountains, and debouching on their left flank, forced them towards the Rhine. Then, following them up, he attacked them near Colmar January 5. By turning their left flank at Türkheim, he managed to drive them from the field; and owing to disagreement among the commanders, the allies retired definitely across the Rhine. This campaign had been vastly to Turenne's credit.

SHORTLY after his return to the left bank of the Rhine after the battle of Sinsheim, Turenne learned that the allies, largely reinforced, had taken position between Mannheim and Ladensburg, north of the Neckar and near its mouth. Bournonville had joined, and the forces, to which the Worms garrison was added, had grown to five thousand foot and nine thousand horse. To check the enemy in any attempt they might be about to make on Alsatia, the French captain determined on dealing them a fresh blow.

Having strengthened Zabern so that he would have a secure *point d'appui* in Alsatia, Turenne gathered his forces near Neustadt, and giving out that he would shortly move on the Saar, he headed his van of five hundred cavalry on Kaiserslautern July 3, while the main army marched towards Philipsburg.

He again crossed the Rhine at that place, from which he took four battalions, six guns and twenty copper pontoons, and marched via Hockenheim to the Neckar at Wieblingen, where the enemy's officers came down to reconnoitre. The river was fordable, but Turenne, who was always careful of his men when without detriment he could be so, built a pontoon bridge, after driving away the enemy's cavalry with his guns, and sending over some squadrons to hold the further bank, he crossed. His purpose was to turn the enemy out of their position. Having passed the river, he demonstrated towards Ladensburg, while the enemy made small resistance and retired summarily on Frankfort, via Zwingenberg and Darmstadt, reaching Langen the same day. Turenne followed, but got no further than Zwingenberg. Here he saw that he could not prevent them from reaching Frankfort, gave over the pursuit, and deeming it essential to keep his eye on the Moselle region, from which there was danger, he retired and took up a position at Weinheim and Gross-Saxen. The enemy withdrew beyond the Main, having suffered the loss of a large number of prisoners and a yet greater moral depletion. They expected further reinforcements, and Turenne believed they would then seek to carry the war into Alsatia; to watch which purpose he determined to remain awhile on the right bank. In order to spare his own magazines at Philipsburg, Hagenau, Germersheim, Landau and Neustadt, and in accordance with orders to prevent the allies from again establishing themselves in the Lower Palatinate, or in

the region between the Main and the Neckar, and thus be a threat to Alsatia, he devastated the entire region, destroying everything he could not carry off. Done under explicit instructions from the French government, barbarous as it was, this work was thoroughly done. Such vandalism was the order of the day ; it cannot well be laid at Turenne's door. A generation later, Marlborough devastated Bavaria ; and have we not the work of Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley to regret ?

The allies, as Turenne had feared, now threatened Alsatia from the Moselle region ; and at the end of July the French army was transferred to the left bank and was established near Neustadt, and later in the Landau region, where Turenne remained a month, closely watching the enemy by means of parties scouting on both sides of the Rhine. By sundry reinforcements Turenne managed to raise his army to twenty thousand men. The details of the minor operations at this period are extremely interesting to the student, but from lack of space cannot be given. Having received large accessions from Germany and Lorraine, with thirty-five thousand men the allies crossed the Rhine at Mainz, the last days of August, and marched slowly on Speyer, which they reached September 6. The commanding because senior officer, Bournonville, could not agree with his subordinates ; and not liking the task of attacking Turenne's lines near Landau, for Philipsburg was on their flank, and being hard up for victual, the allies recrossed the Rhine above Speyer, September 21, on three bridges which they threw, and camped at Lusheim and later at Wiesenthal, north and south of Philipsburg. Anticipating that the enemy was aiming to control Strasburg, Turenne sent a detachment out from Philipsburg to hold the road to that place at Graben, and to head off approaches by the enemy ; and dispatched a considerable body under Gen-

eral Vaubrun to seize the bridge-head fort on the west bank of the Rhine at Strasburg; but the latter officer negotiated in lieu of acting, the former detachment came too late, and on September 24 Caprara, who had meanwhile marched up river and acted with commendable vigor, seized the Strasburg bridge-head himself. This was unfortunate, for Strasburg, which was considered to be neutral, opened the gate of upper Alsatia.

That Alsatia was the allies' objective Turenne now clearly saw; he had already headed up river, and by September 29 he placed his entire army in a position behind the small stream Süffel, just north of Strasburg, with his right flank on a morass, his left on the Ill, and Wantzenau in his rear. The allies were slower, but their main army again crossed, the end of September, and took up a position near Strasburg, behind the Brüsch, in the villages of Entzheim, Geispoltzheim and Blesheim, where they could await reinforcements while holding part of upper Alsatia. But they lay too far back of the Brüsch to make this stream serve as a defense. This period is full of interesting and skillful manœuvres; and Turenne deserves credit for rarely failing to divine the enemy's purpose. If one were to write a manual which should cover all the operations of war, minor and major, illustrations, and apt ones, could be taken for every principle from the life of Turenne alone.

Louvois was for holding Turenne to task for allowing the allies to enter Alsatia, despite his fine work against great odds in defense of the province; and wanted him to retire at once to Lorraine, lest the enemy should march into the interior; but Turenne obtained from the king permission to act as he deemed best, and to remain in Alsatia, for here alone could he prevent the enemy from invading France. His letter to the king is reasonable, strong, — much like the man: —

"Les ennemis, quelque grand nombre de troupes qu'ils ayent, ne sauraient dans la saison où nous sommes penser à aucune autre entreprise qu'à celle de me faire sortir de la province où je suis, n'ayant ni vivres ni moyens pour passer en Lorraine que je ne sois chassé de l'Alsace: si je m'en allais de moi-même, comme V. M. me l'ordonne, je ferais ce qu'ils auront peut-être de la peine à me faire faire; quand on a un nombre raisonnable de troupes, on ne quitte pas un pays, encore que l'ennemi en ait beaucoup d'avantage; je suis persuadé qu'il vaudrait beaucoup mieux pour le service de V. M. que je perdisse une bataille, que d'abandonner l'Alsace et repasser les montagnes; si je le fais, Philipsbourg et Brisac seront bientôt obligés de se rendre; les imperiaux s'empareront de tout le pays depuis Mayence jusqu'à Bâle, et transporteront peut-être la guerre d'abord en Franche Comté, de là en Lorraine, et viendront ravager la Champagne; je connois la force des troupes imperiales, les généraux qui les commandent, le pays où je suis. Je prend tout sur moi, et je me charge des événements."

To be able to hold himself, he strengthened his magazines, particularly Zabern, and closely watched the enemy. He was now placed where a battle won would drive the enemy out of Alsatia; while from a battle lost he believed he could retire under the guns of Zabern; lest the allies should become too strong when the elector should have joined them with his twenty thousand men, Turenne determined to strike them before that event; and with this end in view made preparations from his camp at Wantzenau to move on them at Entzheim. It required all the self-reliance and enterprise which Turenne possessed to face the difficulties of the situation. The enemy had twice his force; they backed on upper Alsatia, rich in victual, while lower Alsatia had been largely stripped by the late operations; they were placed where an invasion of France was easy, and they were awaiting twenty thousand fresh men while Turenne could hope for no reinforcements. But to attack was the safest defense, and Turenne did not hesitate.

At nightfall of October 2 Turenne sent dragoon parties

out to bridge all the streams he must cross to reach the Brüsche, — the Rhine-Il region is a perfect network of marsh streams, — and at midnight the whole army followed to Achenheim, crossing the Süffel at Lampertheim, and advancing in three columns: the cavalry on the left, the foot in the centre, the artillery and baggage on the right. A steady rain made the roads extremely heavy, and the advance was slow. It was not the habit of the day to keep outposts at any great distance; the enemy had none out beyond a mile from Entzheim, and the movements of the French army were not discovered. Reaching Achenheim in the afternoon of the 3d, Turenne reconnoitred carefully, and pushed forward his van of dragoons to Holzheim; during the following night the entire army followed,



Entzheim Operation.

and after crossing took up a position beyond the Brüsche, with its right leaning on Holzheim. The army had worked hard to get at the enemy.

Before it stretched a triangular plain three or four miles long, in the middle of which the enemy had drawn up when they heard of Turenne's advance, with the centre behind Entzheim, held in force by foot and guns; while the left, thrown forward, reached out towards the Brüsche and the right towards the Erger, a small stream across which they had their bridges

The enemy had twenty-seven battalions, averaging six hundred and seventy men, and one hundred and twenty-three squadrons, numbering, including dragoons and cavalry, nineteen thousand men ; total, thirty-eight thousand. Some French records only allot them thirty-five thousand men ; but they had fifty guns. They stood in two lines and a reserve ; and, according to some accounts, were in six bodies, with more or less open intervals between them. The line had a reëntering angle at Entzheim ; and the left wing had in its front a wood which was about three quarters of a mile long by nearly half a mile wide, called in the various accounts of the battle the "little wood ;" while on the right extended a much larger one called the "big wood." In front of the right was an extensive patch of vineyards and hedges. It was a good position for the defensive battle on which the allies had determined. Caprara commanded the right ; the duke of Holstein the left ; Bournonville stood with the *corps de bataille* in the centre. The duke of Lorraine, the duke of Baden and some other German princes commanded their own forces. Bournonville had occupied the little wood with foot, and had thrown up two lines of works in it, on which some guns were mounted.

Turenne opened the attack by a cannonade all along the line, which was well sustained throughout the day. It seems as if he might have turned the little wood, and taken the force there in reverse ; he did not do so, but pushed a force of dragoons under Boufflers directly into the wood, hoping to take it and fall on the enemy's left. This attack was promptly met at the first line of works, and Boufflers recoiled. Turenne sent him some reinforcements, and despite additional troops put in by the enemy, Boufflers carried the first line and captured the guns. He was, however, stopped at the second line of works, and here for three hours the fight was

kept up, hot and bloody. Turenne again and again sent reinforcements to Boufflers, and the enemy did the like to their divisions. Not until the French had been thrice forced out was the wood definitely taken and the enemy driven to shelter behind the ravine in their rear. It was at this point that the English contingent fought, in which the later great duke of Marlborough commanded a regiment.

The attention of Turenne had been so constantly taken up with the fierce fighting at the little wood that there had been no set attempt to manœuvre the centre or left of the French army; it was probably not intended that there should be more than a partial attack here, for his plan manifestly was to crush their left and throw them back towards the frontier; and there is some doubt whether the French or the allies first advanced. But Bournonville initiated an onset with a heavy column of cavalry *d'élite* on the centre of the French line, advancing on the left of the vineyards, while Caprara was sent out with another column on the right of the vineyards to fall on the left flank of the French, and take the infantry centre in reverse.

On the French left stood the cavalry of Counts d'Auvergne and de l'Orges. These officers had advanced, or were preparing to advance, towards the big wood on the enemy's right, and the movement was to be followed by General Foucault and seven battalions of foot from the centre; but the French had scarcely started when they became aware of the column of eighteen squadrons which, under Caprara in person, was about to fall on the French left, and of the advance of Bournonville. Foreseeing danger from front and rear, General Foucault played his foot into a square — "*fit face des deux côtés*" — and awaited attack, ordering the men to reserve their fire; but when Bournonville perceived the firm front of the French *corps de bataille*, he declined to deliver the blow,

and rode back whence he came. Caprara, on the other hand, boldly rode around the French flank, and by the violence of his onset came close to breaking it up, but d'Auvergne and de l'Orges returned to the line, faced to the left, took Caprara himself in reverse, and hustled him back.

The fighting at the little wood had ceased; not so the fighting on the French right. The enemy, unwilling to give up their point, now sent out a heavy force of foot under the duke of Lüneburg to retake it; but Turenne, determined to win success at this part of the line, called for reinforcements. He met Lüneburg's advance with the bulk of the first line of the right wing, the second moving up into its place; and after another period of heavy fighting, in which the enemy and the French were each driven back four times, and four times again came to the charge, Turenne pushed Lüneburg well back into Entzheim. The work here was so hot that the French left was now instructed to remain on the defensive; but it kept up a heavy cannonading meanwhile. The battle on the right flank had been hotly contested; but, though it had lasted all day, it had led to nothing definite.

Turenne's willingness to attack shows a keen knowledge of the weakness of the enemy's army, which, though numerous, was made up of so many different parts as to lack cohesion. It has been suggested that his proper tactics on this field was to attack the allied right, which was easier of access, and if once demolished would enable him to cut them off from Strasburg. Their fear for this flank would probably have given him a better chance of driving them off the field, if he could give them a sufficiently hearty blow at this point; and it was feasible, as their main infantry force was massed near Entzheim. But Turenne's plan seems to have been to break the enemy's left, lead to the capture of Entzheim, which would thus be taken in reverse, and throw the

enemy back on his line of retreat and across the Rhine. This was indeed more in accordance with the ideas of the day, which did not look favorably upon a battle which would drive the enemy, especially a superior one, into a corner where they must absolutely fight. It was deemed too dangerous an experiment; and here the French were outnumbered two to one. In his effort to accomplish his design, Turenne ran the risk of so depleting his centre and left that, had the allies stoutly pushed home in these quarters, Turenne must, with his smaller force, have suffered a galling defeat. But the allies fought feebly, and only defended themselves from Turenne's attack; they had not the enterprise to push in with any vigor.

The French had been marching and working hard for the two preceding nights and days, in the rain without camping; all had been on a plain deep in mud, under heavy fire, and half the army had been fighting desperately all day. They were exhausted, and Turenne clearly saw that he could not carry out his plan against the heavy odds of the enemy. He determined to retire to his camp. Under a cannonade which lasted well on into the night, and leaving a brigade of cavalry to hold the field as an assertion of victory, Turenne moved his army back to Achenheim.

Neither side could fairly claim the victory, for the allies at the same time withdrew to their old camp at Illkirch, having lost three thousand killed, three thousand wounded, eight guns and twenty standards. The French loss was two thousand killed and fifteen hundred wounded, with several colors. Why the French loss should be the smaller does not appear from the course of the fighting; but these are the figures usually accepted as correct. Turenne had a horse shot under him, and the loss in officers was heavy. The allies remained near Strasburg, and Turenne placed himself at Marlenheim,

in advance of Zabern, where he protected his magazines at this place and Hagenau, to recuperate and prepare for a fresh blow.

The battle had consisted solely of an isolated attack pushed home on the left of an enemy who fought on the defensive, and of a second attempted attack on his right, met half way. Much discussion, coupled with the usual critic's "if," has been had on this battle; but it was so far a gain to the French as it prevented the allies from making any effort to penetrate into France. For this accomplishment Turenne deserves high credit, as he clearly does for his splendid courage in attacking such superior forces. With reference to Turenne's withdrawal from the field, Napoleon says: "Il a poussé dans cette occasion la circonspection jusqu'à la timidité; il savait mieux que qui que ce soit l'influence de l'opinion à la guerre." At all events, Turenne had made a handsome bid to drive the allies out of Alsatia; and if he had not fully succeeded on this field, he shortly would on another.

The elector of Brandenburg finally joined the allies on the 14th of October at Strasburg, making a total force of thirty-three thousand foot and twenty-four thousand horse. To meet this serious threat, the *arrière-ban* of France was ordered out and a number of regiments brought back from Flanders. Despite their strength, the allies were slow and inactive, though they indulged in much manœuvring, ostensibly with a view of attacking Turenne's depots at Zabern and Hagenau; but eventually making no progress, for Turenne headed them off at every point, meeting them by concentrating and ably posting his forces behind the Zorn, at Detweiler, they returned to the vicinity of their old camps, and later went into winter-quarters, the elector establishing his court in Colmar. Turenne then put his men in quarters behind the

Moder, having strengthened Hagenau and Zabern, and cut all the bridges leading north from the Strasburg region.

The explanation of the allies' laxness lay in the jealousy of the several leaders and the entire want of unity in their proceedings. By utilizing his knowledge of this fact, Turenne, who lay near his magazines watching the enemy, and had been also reinforced by a few thousand men, conceived the idea that, after the beginning he had made, with some further skillful feints, he might push the allies back on Strasburg and perhaps crowd them out of the country. They manifestly desired to winter in Alsatia, not only because it saved their own supplies by consuming the enemy's, but because it gave them a starting-point for the invasion of France the succeeding spring. Both Franche Comté and Lorraine were ready to welcome them, and this serious threat to France Turenne determined to undermine. With a view to so doing, and against the rule of the day, which was to go into winter-quarters early, Turenne obtained permission from the king to conduct a winter campaign. The allies had so heavily intrenched their position that there was no chance for a front attack, and both armies extended from the Vosges to the Rhine, so that there was no means of reaching either flank.

In order to mislead the enemy as to his intentions, Turenne put his own forces into winter-quarters between his magazines at Zabern and Hagenau, both of which he had strongly fortified and garrisoned, and gave out that he had done with operations for the year. He needed patience as well as activity, for victual and forage were both hard to get. The allies were so thoroughly deceived as to spread their own troops over a wide territory backing on the Rhine between Belfort and Benfelden.

On November 29 Turenne started with fifteen thousand foot and thirteen thousand horse, and via Lützelstein and

Lixheim, which he left December 4, he led his men across the Vosges mountain paths, and along their west slope through Lorcheim, Blamont, Baccarat and Padoulx to Remiremont. The march was admirably planned; each column was given its daily route, and the rendezvous was at Belfort; but no one



Türkheim Operation.

except Turenne knew its purpose. He may have hoped to surprise the allies, but they were not inactive, and got wind of the manœuvre while Turenne was waiting at Remiremont for his infantry column, belated by snow and bad roads, to come up, as well as to collect victual. To lead the allies to believe that he might debouch on them through some of the mountain gaps, as well as to prevent their using the gaps

themselves, Turenne sent several detachments due east across the range to move to and fro on the eastern slope. These indulged in a number of exchanges with the enemy, while with his main force Turenne marched still further south.

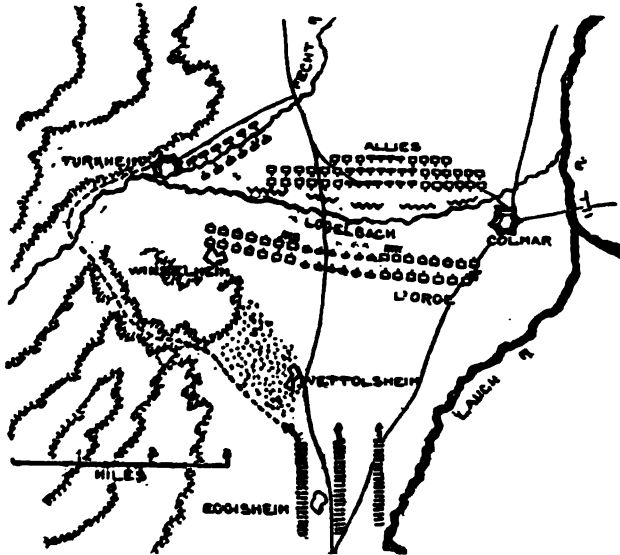
His journey had been as fast as could be, and yet slow ; it was December 27 before he reached Belfort. As he had hoped that his movements would act on the enemy in the nature of a surprise, this march of less than five miles a day seems unnecessarily protracted ; only by remembering Virginia roads during our civil war can we account for it ; in Turenne's time, the roads in France were not what they are to-day. Still Turenne was right in his calculations ; for though the allies knew of the presence of a French force at Remiremont, they appear to have been taken unawares when the whole army appeared in rear of their left flank at Belfort. Here, unfortunately, Turenne had again to remain to collect victual, a delay which robbed his movement of a great part of its effect : instead of being able summarily to attack the enemy, he was compelled to resort to small manoeuvres. The march had been exhausting ; his column was much strung out ; he could barely feed his men ; and though he had come so far to get in a blow before the enemy could concentrate, he was unable to undertake a smart and immediate attack.

Having ascertained through prisoners that the allied left wing was under orders in case of attack to rendezvous, part at Altkirch and part at Colmar, Turenne sought to separate these two detachments by pushing in between them, and marched on Mühlhausen ; but he was able to take with him only three thousand cavalry, while a small body of foot was ordered to follow as speedily as possible. The allies, astonished at his appearance, yet anticipated his manoeuvre ; they set out at once, and their van reached Mühlhausen first.

Though with a force so small as to be merely a reconnoitring party, Turenne attacked the enemy near Mühlhausen, but without advantage other than to gain a handsome victory and some information. The loss of the allies was three hundred men. Turenne returned towards his main force; he was yet again compelled to victual, get his troops together and rest them. The intelligent conception of this operation was quite ahead of the means of carrying it out. Everything was cumbrous in those days; and in winter, especially in a sparsely settled mountain country, it was impossible to march fast and suitably ration a column. Neither had the country supplies, nor could a train be carried along at any reasonable pace.

On January 2 the army was advanced to Ensisheim, on the 4th to Pfaffenheim, marching near the hills to avoid Colmar, and because the valley roads were impassable. Pushing on towards Colmar on January 5, Turenne found the main force of the allies in line of battle, behind a branch of the Fechte called the Logelbach, and covered by a number of works. Their left leaned on Colmar; in front was a low plain, too much cut up for advantageous manœuvring; a mile beyond their right lay, on the main stream of the Fechte, the village of Türkheim, which the allies had but slightly occupied. The branch in their front had been strengthened with works, and the troops stood in two lines with a reserve. The French army marched from Pfaffenheim in three columns, and at Eggisheim threw back eight squadrons of the enemy which were out reconnoitring. Drawing up his army of thirty thousand men, of which half was foot, in line but beyond artillery range, in order to impose on the allies, Turenne with a small force reconnoitred, and at once saw that Türkheim was the most promising point for attack. He proposed to try the same tactics which had

half succeeded at Entzheim: turn the flank furthest from their line of communications, and by pushing boldly in, facilitate their exit from French soil. In pursuance of this design, while the army filed into line, the two first lines stood ready to engage the enemy, and were instructed to feel him, but not so strongly as to bring on an engagement, while the third column marched over roads supposed to be impassable,



Battle of Türkheim.

behind vineyards, and then through a mountain gap to the Türkheim valley, intending to seize the place and thus threaten the allied right. Meanwhile, Count de l'Orges, in command of the French right wing, demonstrated towards the enemy in Colmar to prevent their sending reinforcements to Türkheim. In this village were two battalions of the enemy, which were withdrawn as the French approached. Turenne occupied the place, threw a force into a mill which stood on

both sides of the stream, and drew up in line behind the Fechte, across the allied flank.

No sooner had the allies perceived Turenne's manœuvre than they undertook to retrieve their error, and sent twelve battalions, thirty squadrons and six guns from their second line to retake Türkheim. There was a sharp fight in and near this village, in which General Foucault was killed and Turenne had his horse shot under him, and each side lost some two hundred killed and wounded; but the French held their ground. Of the main army facing the allies, Turenne's left flank leaned on vineyards at Winzenheim, the right on a church — often a good rallying-point — half a mile from Colmar. While Turenne was thus making sure of Türkheim, the artillery of the French left wing moved somewhat to the left and front, so that the guns might half enfilade the enemy's line; and Turenne was preparing to follow up his attack by an advance in force on the enemy's right flank, when, toward nightfall, the allies concluded to retire, though they had suffered small loss; and during the next night, January 5-6, rather than further try the fortunes of battle, they left the field.

The French bivouacked where they fought; the next day, Colmar, with hospitals and magazines, fell to them, and thirty squadrons were sent in pursuit of the retiring enemy. The allies manifestly had no desire to engage in a winter campaign; they made their way to Schlettstadt and shortly to Strasburg; and from here, to get safely away from touch of the all too active French commander, they crossed the Rhine and went into winter-quarters on the right bank. Strasburg was glad to resume its neutrality.

That Turenne by manœuvres, without delivering a pitched battle, — though he had been quite ready for one, — had thus been able to thrust the enemy out of Alsatia was, according

to the idea of his day, the highest honor. While he was on the march, there had been a great outcry in Paris about his retreat into Lorraine and his abandonment of Alsatia to the enemy; but on the completion of the operation, of which he had in October given the king an outline, he was applauded by all France, indeed even by his enemies.

Perhaps, judged by the standard of Frederick or Napoleon, this manœuvre might be criticised in some of its details: the slowness of the march, the inability to strike a hearty blow so soon as the army debouched from the mountains, the letting the enemy escape without a fatal blow. But this is hypercriticism. We must judge Turenne by his age and the steps he made in advance of it. It was quite outside of rules to make a winter campaign: Turenne braved one in a mountain district. He had no modern railway on which to transport his rations: he carried or collected his food by whatever means he could. The roads were called impassable for an army: Turenne nevertheless marched on them, and reached his goal in condition for battle. It was deemed hazardous to attack a superior enemy: Turenne disregarded numbers. And best of all, he succeeded in what he started out to do, — to thrust the allies out of Alsatia. Turenne was well ahead of his own day; we can hardly expect his method to equal that of later and greater captains; and it remains true that the French had won a magnificent success, thanks solely to him.

It is generally acknowledged that this was Turenne's best campaign, though the following one comes close to disputing it that title. Sinsheim, Entzheim and Türkheim, three great victories in seven months, make a wonderful string of jewels.



French Carbine. (16th Century.)

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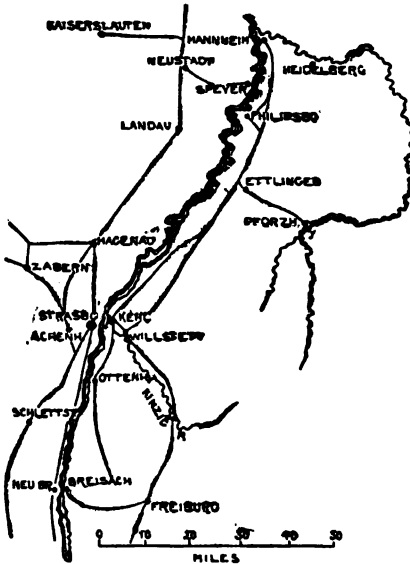
TURENNE'S LAST CAMPAIGN. 1675.

IN 1675 the imperial forces were under Montecuculi, who tried to seize Strasburg. Turenne's duty was to keep him from this city and Alsatia. The campaign was one strictly of manœuvres. Montecuculi crossed to the left bank, but could accomplish no result. Returning to the right bank, he began a series of able operations to seize on the approaches to Strasburg; but Turenne met him at every point. Failing in his victual, Montecuculi moved close to the Rhine, so as to get convoys down the river; but this source Turenne also cut off. The rival armies lay on the Rench, and finally on the same night each sought to surprise his opponent, with the result that Montecuculi was compelled to withdraw. Following him up, Turenne prepared to attack the imperialists at Nieder-Sasbach, when he was killed by a cannon-ball. The French were now forced across the Rhine, and the war was carried into Alsatia. Few soldiers have left as enviable a reputation as Turenne. After his death the French cause retrograded fast.

THE emperor had no cause to be satisfied with the campaign of 1674. He saw that enormous forces had accomplished nothing; that divided authority lay at the root of their failure, and in 1675 he gave sole command of an army of twelve thousand foot and fourteen thousand horse to Field-Marshal Montecuculi, who purposed to anticipate Turenne by crossing the Rhine at Strasburg, and by pushing sharply into lower Alsatia. On the last occasion, two years before, when he had matched himself against Turenne, this brilliant soldier had shown wonderful capacity to manœuvre, and it was with strong expectation of renewed success that the emperor now intrusted the opening campaign to him.

From the Ulm region Montecuculi marched toward the Rhine, and took position near Willstätt, where he rendez-

voused the troops from the Neckar and the upper Rhine. The population favored the imperial forces; there were considerable magazines still holding over from the last year; and Montecuculi's object was to conduct a campaign in Alsatia. To Turenne's part fell the task of holding head against Montecuculi's projected inroad. His forces concentrated at



Theatre of 1675 Campaign.

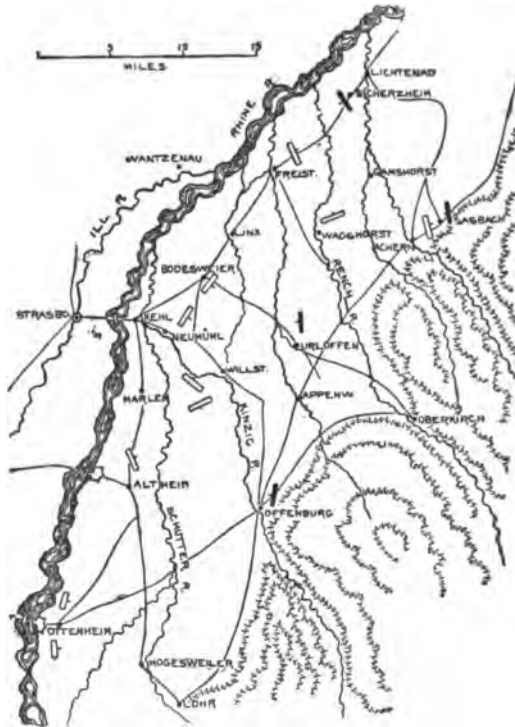
Schlettstadt, on the left bank above Strasbourg, and he joined them from Paris on May 29.

Strasbourg was the main objective of both generals, but Turenne had the harder task. His army was smaller, twelve thousand foot and ten thousand horse, and Strasbourg inclined to the emperor; yet, as we shall see, Turenne succeeded in his object of keeping the enemy away from the city by skillful manœuvres, in

a campaign which worthily crowned a typical soldier's life, and one which had at that day few equals; which, judged by the state of the art, the condition of the country, the quality of the troops and their equipment, and the cumbrous artillery, has had few superiors at any day.

Though he was aiming at Strasbourg, as well as the enemy, it was Turenne's purpose to cross to the German side of the Rhine; and his original plan was to do so at Philipsburg. On the right bank he would be freer to operate, and less

hampered in the defense of Alsatia than by manœuvres on the left bank; he could better impose on Strasburg and the other German neutrals, and he could feed his army on the



Campaign of 1675.
(The blocks show the successive positions.)

enemy's country. He appears this year not to have been interfered with by the court.

It was May when Montecuculi reached Willstädt. Turenne moved from Schlettstadt on Strasburg and threatened it with bombardment, in case neutrality was violated or the imperial army harbored. To entice him thence, Montecuculi moved towards Philipsburg and took measures to besiege it, leaving

behind at Willstadt a force of six thousand men with orders to occupy Strasburg so soon as Turenne's back should be turned. Though Montecuculi carried out this scheme with consummate skill, and spread rumors that he would lay siege to Philipsburg, Turenne, whose judgment in such matters was exceptionally keen, saw through his intention and did not follow ; but he sent a small body to strengthen the garrison. To enforce his apparent purpose, Montecuculi not only opened the siege of Philipsburg, but put a force over the Rhine at Speyer, and made signs of an intention to besiege Landau, Zabern and Hagenau. Turenne had moved to Achenheim, from which place he could dominate Strasburg or quickly march to these depots, or to Philipsburg, as required. He watched the enemy closely, sending many parties out to seek news. Conscious of the strength of his magazine-towns, Turenne took no special notice of Montecuculi's threat, but made preparations to bridge the Rhine at Ottenheim, twenty miles above Strasburg ; and on May 30 put over Vaubrun, with four thousand men, in boats, to protect the bridge when thrown. He thought that if the enemy really besieged Philipsburg, he would march on Freiburg, where Montecuculi had his magazines, and by this threat to his commissariat frighten him away. On May 31 another body was put over. Turenne was now astride the river, with good communications, and ready to act on either side.

Montecuculi himself crossed with the main army to the left bank at Angelhausen above Speyer June 1, as a further attempt to draw Turenne away from Strasburg, took up a position south of Mannheim, backing on his bridge, and gave out that he would attack the French army. But Turenne was not troubled, sent out detachments to Neustadt, Kaiserslautern and Landau, and notified Metz and Nancy not to fear raids if they should occur, as they would be mere demonstra-

tions made for effect. Seeing that none of his operations could intimidate or draw Turenne away from Strasburg, Montecuculi after but a few days retired to the right bank, and camped not far from Philipsburg. Having failed to transfer the war to the left bank, he now had his choice between forcing battle on Turenne, starving him out, or capturing his bridges, and to the business of determining which was best he now addressed himself.

Once rid of his adversary on the left bank, Turenne himself crossed the Rhine at Ottenheim, June 7 and 8, took Willstätt, transformed it into a French depot, captured a lot of forage which had been shipped down the Kinzig to the enemy, and there took up a position between the Kinzig and Schutter, covering Strasburg, which he thus neutralized. As Strasburg was approachable only by way of Kehl, which lay behind the Kinzig, Turenne's presence at Willstätt sufficed; but he later broke the Kinzig bridge at Kehl, which made access to the city harder. Turenne's position was one which threatened Montecuculi's magazines at Offenburg, and the latter, on hearing that the French had crossed, at once broke up and marched south, hoping to forestall Turenne at Willstätt; but finding himself too late, he stopped at Lichtenau. He now had thirty thousand men. Turenne had won the first round of this manœuvring match by permanently moving the theatre of operations to the right bank of the Rhine; by freeing Alsatia from the hardship of war; and by barring the way to Strasburg.

The next move of the French marshal was to make an attempt on Offenburg and on Oberkirch, both magazines of the enemy. The latter place was taken, but the former held out, and when Montecuculi marched from Lichtenau to the relief of Offenburg, which he reached June 15, Turenne to meet him changed his front at Willstätt, and sat down

closely to watch his opponent, who, as he was now cut off from Strasburg, where he had much breadstuff, made a demonstration against Kehl, but accomplished nothing. Turenne protected his communications with the left bank by heavy detachments at Altheim, six miles below Ottenheim, and at the bridge at Ottenheim; but he kept his headquarters in Willstädt.

Still Turenne's position was not secure. His front was twenty miles long. To the enemy at Offenburg his bridge at Ottenheim was nearer than he was himself, a situation, indeed, of which Montecuculi took advantage. Had the imperial general moved sharply on Ottenheim, he might have caught Turenne in an awkward dilemma; but fortunately for Turenne he was too slow. As on June 21 he approached the Schutter, the fact that his men were taxed by the heavy roads induced him to stop for the night; seeing which Turenne changed his position by leaving part of his army at Willstädt to protect Strasburg, and by moving his bridge and protecting force to Altheim, where all preparations for such an operation had been made; and thither he also transferred his headquarters. Montecuculi made preparations for action, extending his left as far as Lohr, but preferring not to attack the new position, which was strong, he withdrew and again camped at Offenburg.

Now that this threat to his bridge had failed and his line was less long, Turenne, who suspected some design on Strasburg, moved to Neumühl to hold the road to Kehl. Montecuculi was now nearer the Altheim bridge than Turenne, but not caring to duplicate his late operation, he took no advantage of the fact, and moreover Turenne had made it too strong to be lightly assailed. From Offenburg, on June 28, for lack of victual and forage, the imperial marshal moved to Urloffen, leaving three thousand men in Offenburg. To meet this

manceuvre, Turenne changed his position in prolongation of his left and again stood athwart Montecuculi's road to Strasburg, taking post in front of Botesweyer.

Montecuculi saw that he had failed in his undertaking to get hold of Strasburg with its munitions and food ; and as he lay in a poor country, and was forced to move to seek rations, he made a rapid flank movement back of the Rench at the end of June, reached the Rhine, and took up his stand at Scherzheim, with his right leaning on the Rhine, hoping to get victual and pontoons by water from Strasburg. Turenne, though the country was woody and hard to operate in, followed him on the opposite side of the Rench, placed himself at Freistädt, and erecting batteries on the Rhine islands and anchoring boats with troops in the current, prevented the use of the waterway. He also ordered the Hagenau people to post a detachment at Wantzenau on the Rhine, and to stop all boats which might try to move down the river.

The land along the Rench being low and swampy, the armies, with only the stream between them, remained quietly *en face* for three weeks, rather than manoeuvre ; want of food, it was thought by each, would soon compel the other to withdraw. In fact, the unhealthful situation, the lack of forage in the French and lack of rations in the imperial camp finally drove each army to activity. Turenne determined to stretch his line up the Rench and turn Montecuculi's left flank, meanwhile watching Caprara in Offenburg. While meditating an attack on Montecuculi, Turenne had been improving and fortifying a small foot-road, which had been found across the river near Wagshorst, by which he proposed in due time to move his army. On getting knowledge of Turenne's first movements, Montecuculi, not anticipating an attack, concluded that Turenne had spread himself out too much and offered a fair chance for a blow ; and he prepared to attack

the position on the Rench in the rear by a portion of the Offenburg garrison, while personally with another part of his army he should move upon its front. The dispositions were these: Caprara with two thousand men was to make an attack from Offenburg on the rear at Wagshorst; the duke of Lorraine was to attack the centre with five thousand men; a force of four thousand was detailed against the front of the intrenched ford; and Montecuculi in person was to move on Freistädt. The attack thus planned was actually made at night on July 23-24, but it quite lacked *ensemble* and remained without result, though delivered on Turenne's depleted lines. The ground was difficult in the day-time; at night it proved impracticable.

When this imperial operation had failed, Turenne, leaving a half of his force well intrenched at Freistädt, advanced July 25 with the other half of his force over the Rench to turn Montecuculi's left and cut him off from Offenburg. He had fortified his ford over the Rench on both banks, and had established posts to hold communication with the Freistädt force. His manœuvre was a bold one, which exposed each half of his army to be overwhelmed by the entire force of the enemy; but Turenne had a way of relying on his knowledge of his opponent's character, and moreover he had diligently prepared his ground. He would not move his entire force, lest he should open the way to Strasburg to the enemy, and he believed that a threat on his magazine would compel Montecuculi to retire. Nor was he disappointed. The several attacks prepared by Montecuculi, as above said, quite failed to work together, and Turenne had got no further than Gams-horst, when Montecuculi, hearing of his presence there in force, concluded that he was to be cut off from Caprara at Offenburg, and hurriedly withdrew in the night of July 25-26 to Nieder Sasbach. Here he stood on the road which

preserved his communications and ordered Caprara up to the same place. Turenne at once drew in the Freistädt half of his force and followed to Achern. In this position at Nieder Sasbach Montecuculi skillfully drew up his forces, and Turenne, proposing to push his opponents to battle, did the like. He is said to have felt confident of a victorious issue; but while he was marshaling his forces, and just before moving to the attack, he was struck to death by a cannon-ball.

Operations were suspended. The French generals — de l'Orges and Vaubrun — could not agree as to who should take command, and summarily withdrew over the Rhine at Altheim. Montecuculi followed, defeated them and carried the war into Alsatia. However interesting the details of this remarkable campaign, space forbids us to give more than its salient features.

In 1676 Condé conducted a campaign against Montecuculi in Germany, on the whole successfully. It had no remarkable details.

Turenne stood decidedly at the head of the generals of his time. He was singular in his ability to correctly gauge his opponents and the conditions under which he was called on to act. He himself was self-contained, shrewd and enterprising, and far above the foolish military prejudices of his day. He was willing to conduct operations at any season, and decidedly opposed to the devotion of unnecessary time to sieges and the parceling out of troops in minor operations. Ready to fight whenever he had morally or physically the advantage of the enemy, he often engaged against marked odds. His tactics was original; he was the first who in his day began flank attacks, and who thoughtfully prepared his turning manœuvres. Unlike Condé, whose most stirring work was done in his youth, Turenne grew every year of his life, and his last campaigns were by far his best.

Sometimes over careful of his men, Turenne inspired them with confidence in the greatest danger, and with energy to undertake the most difficult operations. He won their devotion by his kindness, reasonableness, unflurried temper and never-ceasing acts of generosity. Always among his men, his keen eye singled out the worthy soldier, and his good nature never wearied in rewarding him. On one occasion he noticed a lieutenant of dragoons, whose assiduity in his duties had quite worn out his horse. Turenne accosted him and, after some conversation about his outpost, fell to admiring the subaltern's poor steed, and presently suggested a trade with his own, — a noble creature, such as he always rode. Alleging a liking for the color and the shape of the other's head, the marshal of France insisted on the trade, and rode off on the lieutenant's horse, leaving his charger behind. Anecdotes such as these abound in the accounts of this great man.

Turenne was a soldier pure and simple. From early youth until his death he was that and only that. Few captains lead a life so uniformly devoted to arms. Nearly every one of his active years was passed in the field. To judge Turenne's real value as a captain we must study the conditions under which he worked. He was always hampered by the home government, by the paucity of his troops and by the jealousy of his superiors. His work was narrowed far below his capacity. In view of what he accomplished under generally unfavorable conditions, and especially against such opponents as the Great Condé and Montecuculi, he must be said to have earned the highest rank of all the generals of his day.

Louis XIV. had so far conducted his war of conquest with credit and advantage; but what occurred in the following years undid much of what had been gained.

In 1678 and 1679 there was negotiated with each of the enemies of France — Holland, Spain, the Empire, Sweden,

Denmark — the peace of Nymwegen. The various cessions of territory were complicated, but in general terms Holland got back her entire territory. Spain ceded to France Franche Comté, Valenciennes, Cambray, Ypres, Bouchain and other towns, in exchange for Charleroi, Oudenarde, Courtray, Ghent and other places. The emperor ceded Freiburg, and France her right to garrison Philipsburg. The duke of Lorraine refused to receive back his duchy on the terms offered. The Great Elector was forced to return what he had conquered from Sweden.

This peace, won by his able generals, Turenne and Condé at their head, placed Le Grand Monarque at the summit of his power. Nothing now sufficed to his boundless ambition, and owing to the weakness of the empire he continued his territorial thefts under whatever pretext he could invent. Saarbrück, Luxemburg, Zweibrücken and even Strasburg were seized and annexed to France. Trier and Lorraine followed; the emperor protested, but allowed the occupation to continue.

Finally, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Louis' attempted seizure of the Palatinate and his interference in the election of the archbishop of Cologne roused the enemies of France, and in 1686 the League of Augsburg was entered into by William of Orange, the emperor, the kings of Sweden and Spain and the electors of Saxony, Bavaria and the Palatinate; and this, owing to the French invasion and barbarous devastation of the Palatinate in 1688, culminated, in the succeeding year, in the Grand Alliance. The prince of Orange had become king of England, and it was he who organized this new alliance against France, which was joined by the members of the Augsburg League, by Holland, Denmark, Savoy, by some of the smaller German princes and the pope. France had grown too powerful to make peace a

probability. Louis responded by espousing the cause of the exiled James II. The war concerning the succession of the Palatinate ensued. All western Europe was arrayed against Louis. For nine years war was waged in the Netherlands, along the Rhine, in Italy, on the border of Spain, in Ireland and at sea. Either the triumph or the destruction of France should have followed this widespread warfare. Neither occurred, owing to the peculiar laxness of the conduct of war at that day. In Ireland and at sea the French lost; elsewhere there was a balance of success. But neither side knew how to improve its gains.

In this war, which raged from 1689 to 1697, there were a number of splendid French victories to which we shall return, meanwhile turning aside to a brilliant feat of arms, upon which that radiance is shed which always illumines the saving of a Christian state from the dominion of the pagan.



Mounted Arquebusier. (16th Century.)

LI.

THE SIEGE OF VIENNA. 1683.

THE emperor had always been at war with the Turks, and harassed by insurrections in Hungary. In 1682 both again occurred, and in 1683 the Turks marched on Vienna and laid siege to it. The emperor fled. Count Stahremberg defended the city, while Charles of Lorraine with a small force kept open the routes by which an army of relief might come. The Germans sent several divisions, and John Sobieski, king of Poland, marched to Vienna with twenty-six thousand men. The grand vizier, Kara Mustapha, had been slow in his siege, and the defense of Stahremberg had been stubborn to the last degree. Finally, after over two months' siege, when the garrison and citizens were at the end of their powers and almost starved, the army of relief came up; Sobieski and Lorraine attacked the enemy and defeated them in a hard-fought battle at the very gates of the capital. The Turks summarily retired, and were, during the following months, quite pushed out of the land.

EXCEPT that the heroic defense of Vienna by Stahremberg and its relief by John Sobieski and Charles of Lorraine was one of the notable feats of arms of the seventeenth century, it should scarce find a place in these pages, for there is no special lesson to be learned from it, nor was any one of the actors in the splendid drama a captain of the greatest note. It was, however, in this siege that Prince Eugene, who has done so much for the art of war, played one of his earliest, though a modest rôle, at the age of twenty.

In 1661 a war broke out between the emperor and the Turks, to which an end was put in the splendid victory of St. Gothard by Montecuculi. In 1682 a second war broke out, fostered openly by the Hungarians and secretly by the French. In 1683 the Turks invaded Hungary and laid siege

to Vienna. Their army, two hundred thousand strong, was under command of Kara Mustapha, grand vizier, to whom was intrusted the old green eagle-standard of the Prophet as a badge of success; and on May 12 this force left Belgrade on its march to Vienna. Aware of its destination, the emperor, Leopold I., called on the princes of the empire for assistance, and made a treaty with John Sobieski, king of Poland,



Vienna-Ofen Country.

to come to his aid with forty thousand men, the emperor promising sixty thousand men to join him. The imperial army was mustered in May at Presburg under Charles of Lorraine, a soldier tried in the school of adversity, robbed of his inheritance by the French, and a connection and devoted servant of the emperor. It numbered thirty-three thousand

men, and with this handful Charles was holden to defend the land, and to garrison Presburg, Raab and Comorn.

The Turks were already near Ofen, and on June 25 Charles intrenched himself in a camp between the Raab and the Rabnitz, while Esterhazy held the line of the Waag, and a Polish force lay at Trentschin.

The grand vizier had been counseled by Count Tököly, the Hungarian insurgent, and some of his own wise lieutenants not to march on Vienna, but Kara Mustapha heeded not, and pushed his van of horse out past the Neusiedler Lake and to the line of the Leitha, leaving Raab, Comorn and Leopoldstadt on his flank. Charles sent his foot back to Vienna, and with his horse retired to Haimburg. The Turkish van attacked him July 7, and gave his cavalry a hard blow. Vienna was in a panic, and the emperor left it next day for Linz. Count Stahremberg was given command of the abandoned city, from which a stampede of all the population able to leave soon followed, to the number of sixty thousand souls.



Turkish Soldier.

The defenses of Vienna were wretched; the counterscarp was only partly palisaded; gabions were wanting, barely ten guns were mounted in the bastions, and the ditch was dry in many places. The entire garrison consisted of the common city guard and scarce one thousand troops of the line. On July 9, however, Charles came up with his eleven thousand horse, followed by some twelve thousand foot, — what was left after taking out garrisons. Stahremberg was a man of experience and worth, stern and unflinching, who had won his way by merit. He was just the man for the work; but he had only six days to complete his preparations, for on July 18 the

whole country round the capital smoked from the burning villages fired by the Tartar horse. In these six days Stahremberg did wonders ; every man in Vienna was got to work ; the priest and the nobleman vied with the merchant, the laborer, to help on the cause. Victual was collected up and down the river, north and south ; munitions were got from every point, and by July 13 over three hundred guns had been mounted. The spahis of the enemy's van now swarmed all round the town, from the mountains to the river ; and a column of foot appeared in the suburbs, which Stahremberg received with a cannonade, and drove out by destroying

everything outside the walls. As good luck would have it, the line troops sent to garrison the city marched in on this same day from across the river fourteen thousand strong ; and with citizens, guilds, students and others, Stahremberg found under his command some twenty-two thousand men. On the 14th Kara Mustapha and his entire army stood before Vienna.



Turkish Soldier.

The Turks lost no time. On the night of the 13th-14th the van had opened trenches on the west of the town, at three points, and these stood under the grand vizier's own command, and that of Kara Mohammed and Ahmed Pasha. Charles, who had been lying with his cavalry in the Unter-Werd, retired across the Danube to the Bisamberg, pursued by the enemy's horse, which pressed him hard. The Turks then camped in a huge half-moon, along the hills from the river at Schwechat to the river at Nussdorf ; and during the rest of July they built batteries of heavy siege-guns to back up their trenches.

Stahremberg was the life and soul of everything. Thrice a day he visited the works, and though repeatedly wounded, desisted not from his constant efforts. He was relentless against the cowardly or treacherous or lazy ; equally generous for courage or intelligence in the service. The grand vizier was no less active. On the tenth day of the siege the first mines were exploded, and sorties and assaults were of daily occurrence. Not to recount all these operations, suffice it to say that during the siege the Turks delivered eight assaults and sprung forty mines ; the besieged made twenty-four sorties, and fired ten counter-mines. Only seven times did the besieged hear from the outside news of the eagerly hoped-for army of relief.

Until the arrival of relief armies from Silesia, Moravia, Bohemia, Poland and the principalities of the empire, Charles of Lorraine was to keep open the fords of the Danube and hold the river from Presburg to Tulln. Tököly, on the other hand, led a raiding party to head off the Poles, and easily captured the town of Presburg ; the citadel held out. Hereupon Charles descended from his Bisam eyrie, sharply followed up the Hungarian, beat him at Landschütz, drove him beyond the Waag, and recaptured Presburg. The garisons of Comorn, Raab and Altenburg proved useless, allowing Turkish convoys to pass under their walls unmolested. Tököly rapidly recovered from his defeat, forced his way August 6 across the March at St. Johann, purposing to join a Turkish force which should cross the Danube at the Tabor island, and then drive Charles from the Bisam hills, aided by a demonstration of Tartar horse on St. Polten to engage his attention. But Charles was equal to the situation. Sending a force against the Turks at Tabor, he prevented their crossing, and himself moved against Tököly and threw him back across the March. Shortly after, he retired

to Tulln to protect the building of bridges for the approaching armies of relief, a movement which Tököly improved by again crossing the March at Göding with his own forces and ten thousand Tartar cavalry, and devastating to Wölkersdorf. In connection with this raid, a Turkish force crossed at Marchegg, joined a body from Vienna, and advanced twelve thousand strong up the Danube ; but Charles, on August 24, fell on this body and beat it so badly at Stammersdorf, that a mere fraction was left to escape by swimming across the river. This handsome operation speedily recalled Tököly from his foray.

Meanwhile Sobieski's van had reached Olmütz August 25, and on September 4 the Tulln bridge. Tököly had been able but slightly to annoy his advance. Two days later the entire Polish army of twenty-six thousand men reported. The Bavarians and Saxons, the Swabians and Franconians, had come down the Danube, and reached Krems September 7. During the succeeding days the passage of the Danube was effected. The total forces thus reunited came to thirty-nine thousand foot and forty-six thousand horse. In the absence of the emperor, the command fell to Sobieski, who, though a king, was a plain soldier and an able man, self-reliant and bold, who had fought against the Great Elector, the Swedes, the Cossacks and the Turks, and always with honor. Charles and he had been rival candidates for the Polish crown ; but they were none the less good friends. " Prince, take that great soldier as a model ! " said Sobieski to his son.

Rather than consume time by marching round by the valley roads, Sobieski and Charles agreed to speed their advance over the Kahlenberg to the city, which was already in the extremity of danger. Sobieski took command of the right wing, Charles of the left.

For two months the grand vizier had lain opposite Vienna,

and had not detached a man from his enormous forces to forestall this army of relief, or to interfere with its passage of the Danube. "Such a man," said Sobieski, "is already beaten!" From day to day Kara Mustapha had expected to force an entrance within the walls. He had been so blinded



Siege of Vienna.

by the work in his front that he knew nothing of the operations on his flank, and expected the army of relief by way of the plain and the Wienerberg. Leaving part of his forces in the trenches on the 9th, he moved the rest of his troops to a camp at Laxenburg and Neustadt, sending detachments only to the Kahlenberg and to Grünzing. He did not believe that the army of relief was a well-organized one; he did not

know that it was led by Sobieski; he had no great opinion of Charles.

The king's battle orders were brief: the imperial troops were to hug the river so as to throw relief into Vienna; in the advance, the infantry and artillery were to precede the cavalry; once in line the latter was to fill the intervals of the former; a third line was to be held in reserve; the first and generally sharp onset of the Turkish cavalry was to be met by throwing out the light Spanish squadrons.

The relief came none too soon. Vienna had been pounded into ruins; but Stahremberg would not give up; every breach was repaired, every assault was thrown back; every man, under his stern eye and active presence, did his duty. The question was, whether the weakened garrison and works could resist a general assault,—and when might it not come? Happy indeed was the sore beset Kaiserstadt, when rockets from the hills announced the friendly advance!

The grand vizier no longer doubted the intention of the Christians when, on September 12, he saw the columns emerging from the hills. The challenge was answered. He drew up his army in five heavy lines, from Nussdorf to Dornbach, and himself commanded the centre, the pashas the wings. Sobieski's address to the troops was fervent: "We have beaten this same enemy, you and I. To-day you fight not for Poland but for Christianity; not for your king, but for your God! I have but one order for you: wherever you see your king, follow and fear not!"

The line was formed, and the artillery at 7 A. M. opened from Kahlenberg village against Nussdorf. The Poles on the right had a long and difficult route through the mountain roads to pass over before they could reach the Turkish left; and the German troops fought seven long hours against heavy odds and desperate resistance through the glens and

defiles of the foothills, making with splendid gallantry a marked advance. Five times did the Turkish serried masses charge in on the German lines; but these wavered not, though a heavy Turkish battery on the Döbling hill finally put a term to their gain. It was 2 o'clock and neither centre nor right had come into close quarters with the enemy. Finally Sobieski emerged from the Dornbach hills and fell sharply on the Turkish array. Their onset was gallant; their king was present at the point of gravest danger; but the deep masses of the Turkish formation resisted their bravest charges. Finally a regiment of lancers broke, and in its retreat threatened to force back the line in disorder. But Charles was near by; he ordered an advance on the Turkish centre; it was given with a will; under it the Poles rallied; one more charge and the Turkish left



Polish Cavalryman.

was rolled up on its centre. Charles captured the great Döbling battery, drove back the enemy, and forced his way, fighting for every step, to Währing, while Sobieski pursued the now broken enemy to Hernals. Louis of Baden headed a few squadrons, and fought his way to the west gate of Vienna, where he and Stahremberg at once made a sortie on the janissaries, who still kept up a fire from their trenches. Soon a panic seized the Turks, and once the flight began there was no more organization left. In a *saute qui peut* rabble the entire army fled — barring a slight stand at St. Ulrich's — back through the Wienerberg defiles to Raab.

The loss of the Turks is given as from ten thousand to twenty-five thousand men. That of the allies is not known. In the siege there had fallen in Vienna five thousand men from wounds, twenty thousand from disease. The booty was enormous. There was no marked pursuit.

On September 14 the emperor, whose capital had been saved as by a miracle, reëntered the city. Next day, invited by Sobieski, he went out to view the Turkish camp. A curious scene ensued. The pride-beridden successor of the Cæsars, for fear of losing some of his imperial dignity, treated the king of Poland, his saviour, *de haut en bas*, to the infinite disgust of the Polish army, and the annoyance, mixed with a keen sense of ridicule, of Sobieski. The Pole had too much good sense not to wash his hands of the absurd business; but to Leopold, the personal attitude of the German emperor towards an elective king was a matter of moment. It had been a question of discussion in the cabinet, and on Charles of Lorraine being asked how the emperor should receive such a monarch, he replied: "When he has saved the empire, with open arms!" But Leopold's ideas of rank could not permit him so far to condescend.

In the grand vizier's tent was found clear proof that the war had been fostered by France; and Sobieski could not deny himself the pleasure of sending a report of the battle in his own hand to the Most Christian King Louis XIV.

The grand vizier was able enough to cast the blame on his subordinates, many of whom he executed, and to justify his conduct to the sultan, by whom he was at first liberally rewarded. The retreat of the Turkish army was hastened by Charles and Sobieski, who followed it up as far as Ofen. Other engagements ensued, but they have no part in the relief of Vienna.

LII.

LUXEMBURG AND CATINAT. 1690-1693.

LUXEMBURG was naturally a good soldier ; but he was stunted by the narrow method of Louvois, which was a mere war of sieges that parceled out the army in small detachments. In 1690 Luxemburg had one hundred thousand men in the Netherlands, to oppose less than sixty thousand allies. He met Waldeck at Fleurus in July, and coupled with a cavalry flank attack, his assault was stout enough to win a handsome victory. The road to Brussels was open, but Luxemburg did not know enough to improve the occasion. In 1692 William III. fell on Luxemburg at Steenkirke, but owing to difficulties of the ground, was beaten with very heavy loss. In 1693 Luxemburg again met William at Neerwinden, where the allies were heavily intrenched, and again won a hard-fought victory. But despite all these triumphs the French gained no headway, and the allies kept the field. In this same year Catinat defeated the duke of Savoy at Marsaglia. The result of these splendid victories was comparatively little.

BEFORE proceeding to the brilliant campaigns which characterized the War of the Spanish Succession, short mention should be made of three of the battles of the French under the duke of Luxemburg. This officer, who certainly possessed many of the qualities which go to make up a solid general, and who covered with renown the arms of France in the Netherlands, is nevertheless an excellent example of how depressing an effect the unenterprising method of that day could exert on even an able man, and brings out in stronger relief the immense personality of such a soldier as Turenne, who was able to cut loose from the hard and fast rules of the then art, and despite the inert tendencies of Louvois, put his own individuality into what he did ; and of such men as Eugene and Marlborough, who cast to the winds the ancient

ways, refusing to be tied by an obsolete system, and thus paved the way for a Frederick and a Napoleon. Guided either by the narrow rules of the art as he understood them, or by the narrower instructions of Louvois, who, though a great war minister, did not understand war, Luxemburg was



Luxemburg.

able to accomplish less than his opportunities and his opponents should have yielded him. With such resources, what might not a Turenne have won for France! What we might call Louvois' one maxim of war was : Take all the enemy's strong places which you can lay your hands on so soon as you reach his territory ; and though he had seen the most splendid victories and the greatest successes of France won by men

who disregarded the rule and moved on the enemy, he could not get beyond this point in his comprehension of war. That this system called for the parceling out of troops in petty detachments in the various sieges, to much useless small war, and to the loss of many men in efforts to accomplish what was scarcely worth the while, he did not consider. His system made him naturally timid ; the advent on the theatre of operations of a force so small that he could afford to despise it sent him into a tremor of caution, and resulted as a rule in his giving his generals orders to act on the defensive. He spent much time and more money in spying out what the enemy was doing, when he might have kept the initiative. One of his pet schemes was to rob the enemy of means of subsistence by devastating wide districts, or by devising extensive operations to cut off the enemy's supplies. All this was done with immense outlay and with vast intelli-

gence ; but it lacked that divine spark to which, if to anything, the genius for war is due.

At the opening of 1690 there stood one hundred thousand French under the duke of Luxemburg on the borders of the Netherlands. Opposite them were eighteen thousand Spaniards under Castanaga ; while thirty thousand allies under Prince Waldeck lay between the Meuse and Dender. A body of eleven thousand Brandenburgers was approaching, and their coming so strongly impressed Louvois that he ordered Luxemburg to stand on the defensive. The huge French force was in three corps : Marshal Boufflers leaning on the Meuse ; the duke in the centre ; and Marshal Humières between the Scheldt and Lys. The latter body took no part in the operations, but remained in its fortified lines. Luxemburg began by devastating the region occupied by his left ; but learning that Waldeck had marched towards Dinant on the Meuse, he drew in Boufflers and advanced on the prince with forty thousand men. At Fleurus, northeast of Charleroi, he met Waldeck at the head of twenty-five thousand allies on July 1. The prince was drawn up with Ligny and St. Amand in front of his left, and Fleurus some distance in front of his right.



Battle of Fleurus.

A small stream ran in his front, and the land rose towards his right, and then suddenly dipped so as to conceal the movement of troops beyond the edge of the hill to any one on the level. Beyond the brook was land of about equal height, on which lay the French.

Drawing up in two lines of infantry, with the horse in two lines on the flanks, Luxemburg sent Gournay, an excellent cavalry officer, with the entire left wing, under cover of the hill of Fleurus, around to fall on the right flank of the allies.



Catinat.

Waldeck neglected to scout the vicinity of his position, and knew nothing of the manœuvre. While Gournay was on the way, the French infantry made a stout front attack by crossing the stream and marching up the slope of the plateau, which assault Waldeck met in good style, and drove back. But Luxemburg rallied his battalions and again led them to the attack; and this being nicely timed, so that Gournay could simultaneously fall on the flank of the allies, their array was

broken up with extremely heavy losses, — said to have been six thousand killed. The victory was decisive. The road to Brussels was open; but neither would Luxemburg of his own initiative advance farther, nor could he do so without orders from Louvois. He celebrated his triumph by camping six days on the battle-field, and then retired across the Sambre, and permitted Waldeck at his leisure to join the elector of Brandenburg in Brussels.

In this same year Marshal Catinat won a victory over the duke of Savoy at Staffarda. There were but eighteen thousand French in Italy, but they were assisted by the incompetence of the duke. Crossing the Po from Turin, he marched against Catinat and met him at the monastery of Staffarda. He intended to attack, but assuming a defensive position full of faults, Catinat took advantage of one of these, turned his left flank and utterly worsted him. The French then captured

Susa and overran Savoy. There are no reliable accounts of this engagement.

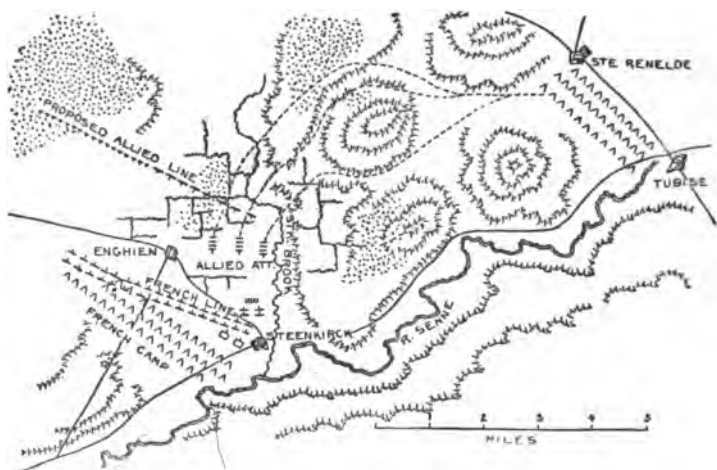
For the next year (1691) France put one hundred and twenty thousand men into the field. As it was his occasional pleasure to do, Louis XIV. took the field in person and besieged Mons; having taken which he returned to Paris. Luxemburg was left in command, with instructions not to indulge in battle unless victory was secure, and to rely mainly on his cavalry. Neither party had any apparent liking for the offensive this year; Liège was burned by Luxemburg from political spite; and William III. moved on Dinant, expecting to attack Marshal Boufflers singly; but Luxemburg came up to his aid. Far outnumbering the enemy, he would have liked to fight; but his rigid instructions held him back. This was the sort of campaign which Louvois deemed a handsome one.

William III. was as if created to oppose such an unscrupulous conqueror as Louis XIV. He was not of the mould which is instinct with great projects; he had no craving for extension of territory; but he was determined to keep what he rightfully owned, and to do this, as he said, "he could die in the last dike." Few men have lost so many battles and still kept the field; fewer yet would have broken the dikes and let the ocean in to destroy the work of generations in order to preserve the autonomy of his country and the faith and liberty it enjoyed. He was of the stuff which would have given Holland as a whole back to the waves, and have begun afresh a republic in the New World.

Without being in any sense a great soldier, William accomplished results where men who had many of the captain's traits would have wrecked their cause. Beginning with but a tithe of the gigantic forces of the French, he slowly worked up to an equality with them; meanwhile, with a per-

sistency rarely matched, wresting from them and holding more and more ground. He was so fond of war that he fought at St. Denis after he knew that peace had been concluded. He was not a brilliant soldier, but he was a safe one in the rôle which he enacted.

Next year, 1692, Louis in person besieged Namur. Louvois had died. On the capture of the place, Luxemburg was again left in command with defensive orders, and he chose to retire to the Brussels country, where was more forage for his large force of cavalry, artillery and train horses. William



Battle of Steenkirke.

spread a report that he would undertake to recapture Namur, and having made some feints in that direction, Luxemburg weakened himself to send a detachment to the aid of Namur, and gave William the opportunity to fall on him at Steenkirke.

Luxemburg was camped with the right leaning on Steenkirke and his left near Enghien; William lay between Tubise and St. Renelde; the ground between the two armies was

well accentuated by hills of one or two hundred feet above the bed of the Senne, and so much cut up by woods, marshes and hedges that it was a network of defiles, through which it was almost impossible to manœuvre to advantage. Neither army could approach the other except by passing through such defiles. There happened to be a spy at the allied headquarters who sold news to the French. This man William discovered and compelled to write to Luxemburg that the allies were about to seize the defiles along the Steenkirke brook in order to protect their foragers, but without the intention of making any special movement; and under this *ruse de guerre* managed to mass his men and to debouch suddenly on Luxemburg July 24, to the utter surprise of the latter, who had explained away the news which his scouts brought in by the information received from his old spy. William had done well, but the event was not as fortunate as the beginning.

The French right, composed of horse, lay in advance of Steenkirke, and to protect this a brigade of foot had camped in its front. Upon this force the blow of the allies first fell; its guns were taken and turned against the French, and the right seemed threatened with destruction. But the allies could not debouch rapidly enough from behind the brook. Luxemburg was active, speedily sent succor to the right, where the damage was repaired, and got his forces into line with what was, under the circumstances, most praiseworthy speed. Luckily for the French, their front was covered by fields inclosed by hedges, which prevented the allies from summarily attacking their line *en masse*. William's front attack was feeble, and was driven back by the French first line, which then advanced and enabled the second line to form in its rear and get out beyond the camp. Once in line, the French fought well, and William, whose own right had been led astray by a night march and had not come up, had

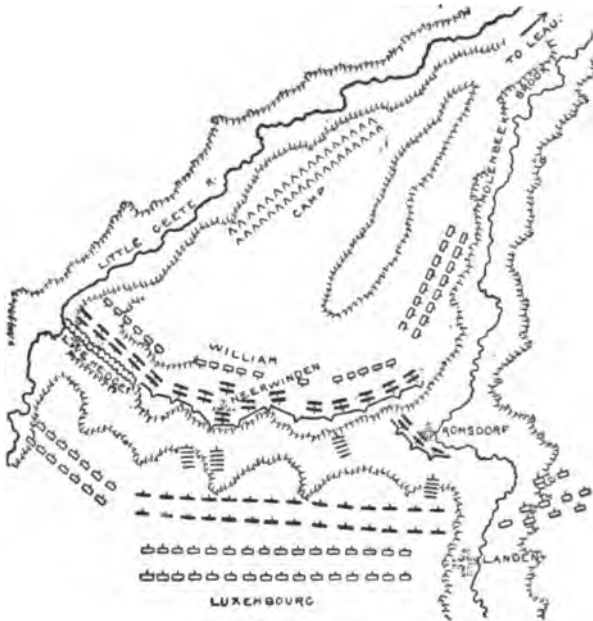
really accomplished nothing but a surprise of the French right. The fighting was tenacious to the last degree on both sides. The ground was unsuited to the operations of cavalry, and the whole affair was a *mêlée*, quite lacking anything like grand-tactics. The battle was in an irregular parallel order, and the allies were not so well marshaled as to deliver a sudden and effective blow. Much fault was found on the allied side for the failure of Count Solmes to sustain the English column. The result of the battle was the defeat of the allies, with, it is claimed, ten thousand dead and as many wounded. The French loss must have been as great. The allies abandoned most of their guns. Had William delayed his attack until he was sure that his right had come up, the victory would probably have been his, for his stratagem worked well; he was hidden by the ground and by the deceit practiced on Luxemburg, and the French were quite taken by surprise.

Despite this splendid victory, Luxemburg did nothing. On the other hand, William, who was curiously hard to discourage, managed to join fifteen thousand English troops, which had landed in Ostende, and then captured Furnes and Dixmuiden. On his leaving the Netherlands these places were recaptured by the French.

For the campaign of 1693 Louis put no less than one hundred and thirty thousand men in the field, and personally undertook the siege of Liège, a work which, for lack of a better objective, William determined to interrupt. About this time Heidelberg fell, which gave the French a chance to win success in Germany, and forty thousand men were sent thither from the Netherlands, while Louis left Luxemburg to continue the operations against William, instructing him to keep the allies from manœuvring towards the sea-coast. To carry out these orders, Luxemburg threatened Louvain

and then Liège, and lost much time in useless operations ; but learning in July that William had depleted his force by a number of detachments, and lay at Neerwinden on the Geete, he marched to attack him, though he had but half his force under the colors.

Neerwinden is close to the Little Geete, and the village of Romsdorf lies east of it on the brook of Landen or Molen-



Battle of Neerwinden.

beck, both of which streams unite to the north and form a triangular plateau five miles long. Here William had camped, between Neerwinden and Romsdorf, and, hearing of Luxemburg's approach, had fortified his lines, and believed the position impregnable. The line was convex. Neerwinden and a small ravine with a quickset hedge from the village to the Geete protected the allied right; the centre was covered

by somewhat lower land in its front to Romsdorf; the left was thrown back *en potence*, and proved useless in the battle. The weakness of the position was that it was a crowded one. The right was made especially strong, Neerwinden was filled with foot, and Romsdorf was intrenched. One hundred guns stood in battery along the line. The horse was in reserve or on the left. The land to the south is slightly higher than the Neerwinden plateau, but gently descends towards it. The beds of the brooks are sixty to eighty feet lower than the rolling hills.

On the afternoon of July 28 Luxemburg arrived in William's front with his van of cavalry and reconnoitred. His first duty was to expel the enemy from Landen, which he did, so as to lean his right on it in the battle he proposed to deliver next day, and here he put forty battalions of foot. At daylight of July 29 the guns opened, and under a severe fire, the French formed for the attack. They were substantially in two lines of foot with two lines of horse in their rear, and cavalry on both flanks in three lines.

The main attack was opened at 6 A. M. by the French left on Neerwinden. The French pushed vigorously in, took the village, but were fiercely met and driven out. On the French right the fighting was less marked. A second time Luxemburg assaulted Neerwinden and successfully gained an entrance, but only to be a second time ejected, partly because the assault on Romsdorf was not pushed home, so as to give the enemy more to do.

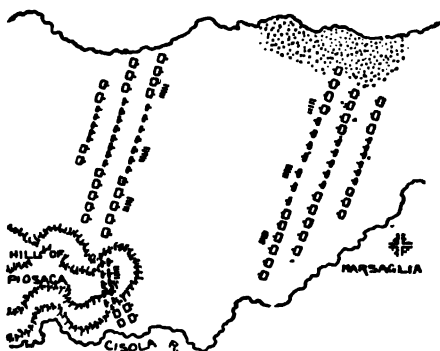
Luxemburg deserves great credit for not losing courage at these two failures. He prepared for a new assault on Neerwinden, and as he saw that in anticipation of it the allies were disgarnishing their left centre to protect Neerwinden with more troops, he directed Marquis Feuquière to assault the intrenchments on the west of Romsdorf in force. This

was done in good form, and Feuquière made a lodgment on the highest part of the ground held by the allied line, and thus took the foot defending Neerwinden in reverse, and in a determined assault at the same time the duke took Neerwinden and held it. This was the moment for the allied cavalry of the left to put in its work. There had been and was nothing in its front; and had it been well commanded, it could have changed front and hustled the French under Feuquière back by a charge on their flank. But this body of cavalry, without firing a salvo or drawing a sabre, saw fit to retire to Léau, and between the duke and Feuquière the bulk of the allied foot on the right was driven into the Geete, with a loss of eighteen thousand men killed, wounded and prisoners, one hundred and four guns and numberless trophies. The French loss was heavy. There was no attempt at pursuit; Luxemburg was held by his orders to obtain further instructions from the king; and finally he sat down to besiege Charleroi. The result of this splendid victory was naught, owing to the mischievous system ingrained in all the French generals by Louvois. The taking of Charleroi ended this campaign. It is a remarkable fact, and much to his credit, that despite all these defeats William kept the field. It would have been otherwise had Turenne stood in the place of Luxemburg.

Luxemburg died in 1695. Villeroi succeeded him, but accomplished nothing. The year which saw the victory of Neerwinden in the Low Countries added one more victory to the French arms in Italy. In 1691 Prince Eugene came to assist the duke of Savoy, and the French accomplished little. In 1692 the duke raised his forces to fifty thousand men and made a raid into the Dauphiné, but without much result. In 1693, as he was besieging Pinerolo, Catinat, who had been pushed well back into the mountains, escaped from his trap, turned the duke's flank and obliged him to retire, and

then forced battle on him October 4 at Marsaglia, southwest of Turin.

When the duke became aware of the approach of the French, he crossed the little river Cisola and drew up his army, leaning his left on this stream, and extending his right across to a small patch of woods which lay near another small stream, unnamed. On his left was the height of Piosaca, on which he might have leaned this flank to effect; but neglecting to do so, he left it for the enemy to occupy, and thus threaten his line in reverse. Both streams were almost dry



Battle of Marsaglia.

at this season, and the wood on the duke's right was so open that even cavalry could ride through it. Catinat at once seized on the salient errors of the duke, and occupied the Piosaca heights. He then pushed a stout attack all along the

Savoyard line, and followed it up by enveloping its left. Success began here. The duke's army was rolled up on the centre and right, and so badly defeated that some time after he concluded peace.

During this period the operations on the Rhine were insignificant. The war on the border of Spain was enlivened only by the conquest of Barcelona (1697). In Ireland the cause of James was lost in the battle of the Boyne; and at Cape La Hogue the English fleet destroyed the French fleet in 1692.

There is no denying to the French a number of brilliant

victories on land; they were in a sense almost as splendid as the later victories of the allies under Marlborough and Eugene. But the latter knew how to utilize them and generally did; not so the Louvois-taught French. And the result of all their victories did not offset the general downhill tendency of the fortune of France.

France had lost so much that it would seem as if the allies could have imposed harsh terms on her. But in the Peace of Ryswick (1697) she was no further mulcted than to make her yield up, except Alsatia and Strasburg, all her conquests in the Netherlands, on the Rhine and in Spain. In this peace William III. was acknowledged king of England and Anne as his successor. The main fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands were to be garrisoned by the Dutch. Freiburg, Breisach and Philipsburg went to the empire; Zweibrücken to Sweden; Lorraine was restored to Duke Leopold; the Rhine was made free.

Except the work of Luxemburg and Catinat, nothing in the operations since the death of Turenne is worthy of extended notice.



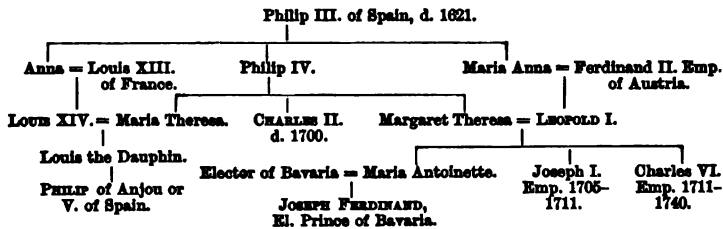
French Musketeer. (17th Century.)

LIII.

PRINCE EUGENE AGAINST CATINAT. 1701.

THE death, childless, of Charles II. of Spain left France, Austria and Bavaria to claim the throne; and the War of the Spanish Succession resulted. Prince Eugene of Savoy was French by birth, but, unable to get military preferment at home, he sought his fortune at the court of the emperor, whom thereafter he served throughout life. By his exceptional skill, courage and services he early rose to be field-marshal, and in 1697 won the splendid victory of Zenta against the Turks. In 1701 Prince Eugene with thirty thousand men was sent to Italy against Catinat. He cut a new road down the Adige, crossed below Verona, and gradually forced the French back. Catinat was restricted by his orders, and had not been able to manœuvre as he otherwise might. By skillful operations, Eugene regained all northern Italy as far as the Oglio.

THE intermarriages of the reigning families of Europe have generally resulted in rival claims of territory or in jealousy of a preponderating political influence. In the opening year of the eighteenth century a serious European question arose from the death of Charles II. of Spain. A genealogical table best explains the facts.



Inasmuch as Charles II. was childless, and the Spanish Hapsburgs threatened to become extinct after the general settlement of the Peace of Ryswick, the question as to who

should succeed to the Spanish throne became the leading one among all the nations of Europe. In 1698 the powers made a treaty of partition, by which Spain, the Indies and the Netherlands should go to the electoral prince of Bavaria; Naples and Sicily and some other minor places to the Dauphin; Milan to the Archduke Charles. This treaty, concluded without the consent of Charles II., provoked this monarch into making the prince elector of Bavaria his sole heir; and to this the naval powers agreed; but the death of the prince in 1699 reopened the entire question. In 1700 another treaty of partition was made, by which Spain and the Indies should go to the Archduke Charles; Naples, Sicily and Lorraine to the Dauphin, and Milan to the duke of Lorraine as a compensation for his own land. But again changing his mind, Charles II. made a will leaving his entire possessions to Philip of Anjou, and in 1700 died. Louis XIV. then chose to disregard the treaty of partition and to act under the will; and the duke of Anjou was proclaimed as Philip V., and started for Spain amid the cries of "*Il n'y a plus de Pyrénées!*"

The complex nature of this question, which was what led to the War of the Spanish Succession, thus had a legal and a political aspect. On the one side there were three claimants to the throne of Spain: Louis XIV., son of the elder daughter of Philip III. and husband of the elder daughter of Philip IV., both of which princesses had renounced their inheritance; Leopold I. of Austria, son of the younger daughter of Philip III. and husband of the younger daughter of Philip IV., both of which princesses had reserved their inheritance; Joseph Ferdinand, electoral prince of Bavaria, great-grandson of Philip IV. Louis XIV. claimed the throne for his second grandson, and Leopold for his second son. On the other side, the balance of power forbade that either France or Aus-

tria should succeed to the enormous Spanish territory, and England and Holland joined hands to enforce this view. The naval powers and estates of the empire, with Prussia (and later Portugal), joined the emperor in a Grand Alliance to prevent France from securing Spain. As allies France had Savoy and Mantua, Bavaria and Cologne, but in 1708 Savoy deserted France. The three great men of the Grand Alliance were Eugene, the emperor's general, Marlborough, the commander of the Anglo-Dutch, and A. Heinsius, pensionary of Holland. After the death of William III. in 1702, Spain played no great part in the war, and being safe on her weakest point, the Pyrenees, France could devote her energies to Italy, the Rhine and the Netherlands. France had interior lines and a single purpose; the allies had exterior lines and very divergent purposes. In population the two contestants were about equal; but Austria was kept busy by her Hungarian troubles and the Turkish wars. England was wholly in earnest; Holland needed to defend herself against France, from whose ambition she had in the late wars suffered so much. The other members of the Grand Alliance were not easy to persuade into giving active succor. It was in the War of the Spanish Succession that we find the best work of Eugene, Marlborough, Vendome and Villars.

Prince Eugene of Savoy was fifth son of Prince Maurice of Savoy-Carignan, count of Soissons, commander of the Swiss in the French service, and governor of Champagne. His mother was niece of Cardinal Mazarin. He was born in Paris, October 18, 1663, and early destined for the church. His father died when he was ten, and his mother fell into disfavor. Eugene sought admittance to the army, but could not obtain it, as his diminutive stature and slight physique spoke against him. But from childhood up he had pored over Plutarch's Lives; his firm desire was to be a soldier; his studies

all tended in this direction, and he made himself proficient in every technical branch of the military art.

Unable to get military preferment in France, Eugene went — as many other young noblemen did — to Vienna, where the Emperor Leopold was seeking well-trained volunteers to resist the incursions of the Turks. Here, in 1683, he especially distinguished himself in the re-

lief of Vienna by Sobieski, rose speedily to be colonel, did a great deal of staff duty, and earned universal commendation from his superiors. In the wars against the Turks, Prince Eugene showed himself to have not only a true military eye, but a quite uncommon courage, moral and physical. His acts of gallantry were exceptional,



Prince Eugene.

and he proved that he could shoulder responsibility. In 1686 he rose to be major-general, and two years later field-marshal lieutenant, being then but twenty-five years of age. He had already been several times wounded.

The Netherlands War had again broken out in 1689. The emperor, with Bavaria, Sweden and Spain, took the part of the prince of Orange against France, and Leopold sent Prince Eugene to Turin to negotiate a treaty with Duke Victor Amadeus. The prince would have preferred to remain in service against the Turks, but he accomplished his mission well. (1689-1690.)

Learning of this treaty, Louis XIV. sent Catinat with twelve thousand men into Piedmont. Prince Eugene was dispatched with eighteen thousand men to reinforce the duke; and, in connection with him, or at times alone, Eugene fought

handsomely in the Italian campaigns of 1690 to 1696, when by mutual agreement Italy became neutral.

Louis XIV. now tried to win Eugene back, by offering him the grade of marshal of France, the governorship of Champagne and two hundred thousand livres salary; but Eugene clave to the emperor, who had steadily befriended him, and for this act of loyalty was placed in larger commands.

His first independent campaign was in 1697 with fifty thousand men against the Turks under the Sultan Kara Mus-



Zenta Campaign.

tapha, who had advanced on the empire a hundred thousand strong. He moved down between the Save and the Drave rivers to the Danube-Theiss region, where, after some manœuvring between these two rivers, he checked the Turks in the siege of Peterwardein and of Szegedin. Among the most interesting campaigns of this great soldier during his long and laborious life are those against the Turks, but they do not come within the scope of this work. The battle which practically ended this campaign is, however, characteristic of the man.

The sultan planned to cross to the left bank of the Theiss, intending to pillage and devastate upper Hungary and Siebenbürgen (Transylvania); and Prince Eugene determined to attack his army at the passage of the bridge which it held, before it had completed the operation. At the moment of attack the prince received dispatches, but he is said, rather doubtfully, to have refused to open them, rightly guessing that they were orders not to be led into battle.

The Turkish army was drawn up in a great bow in front of the bridge near Zenta, protected by earthworks, by the baggage wagons lashed together Zisca-fashion, and with an inner bridge-head. About one hundred guns were in position. Zenta was near the right. The river was covered with transports, and a part of the Turkish army under the sultan had already crossed to the other side; and for this reason Eugene was anxious to attack. It was September 11.

Having left his infantry resting under arms, the prince rode forward to reconnoitre; and ascertaining that the Turks were hastening to get across, — a fact which was apt to breed confusion, — he at once brought his army into position, with the right on the Theiss, and swung it by a right wheel so that it enveloped the enemy's lines. There were but three or four hours of daylight. His concentric fire of artillery was highly effective and that of the Turks the reverse, for their guns were big and cumbrous and their ammunition ill-assorted. The attack was begun by the grand vizier sending out a cavalry detachment, which was, however, quickly driven back; General Rabutin on the Austrian left opened the assault; the centre under Prince Eugene and right under Count Stahremberg followed. The Turks resisted stoutly, but the Austrians, though outnumbered two to one, stormed the earthworks and an hour later the bridge-head. Here the fighting was desperate and the Turkish loss fearful, for the

Austrians gave no quarter. The victory was complete. From ten thousand to twenty thousand Turks are said to have fallen, among them many pashas and the grand vizier. The camp on the other bank and an enormous booty fell into the Austrian hands ; guns and flags were captured wholesale ; and the Turks retired east to Temesvar. The Austrian loss was but two thousand killed and wounded.

This first victory of Prince Eugene's does him great credit, especially in view of the responsibility he took. After a three days' rest he followed the Turks, but they had retired south to Belgrade, leaving a strong garrison in Temesvar. The siege of this place promised to occupy so much time that it would practically consume the rest of the campaign ; and Eugene preferred to quarter his troops and undertake an expedition with twenty-five hundred foot, four thousand horse and twelve guns into Bosnia, to capture the capital, Bosna-Seraj. The Turks were far from expecting an incursion, and in less than three weeks the prince overcame the whole province and returned. The capital was captured and accidentally burned ; the citadel held out. On the home march the Austrians destroyed the defenses of all captured towns, and the army then went into winter-quarters.

On returning to Vienna Prince Eugene found that his enemies, under the lead of Field-Marshal Caprara, had managed to rouse the anger of the emperor against him for disobedience of orders in fighting the battle of Zenta, and he was placed in arrest. The people, rejoiced at the splendid victory, were, however, with him ; the disfavor of the emperor lasted but a short while, and resulted in the justification of the prince, who next year was again placed in sole command in Hungary, and made independent of the Austrian council general of war. His short humiliation, which is also doubtful, in no wise harmed his eventual reputation.

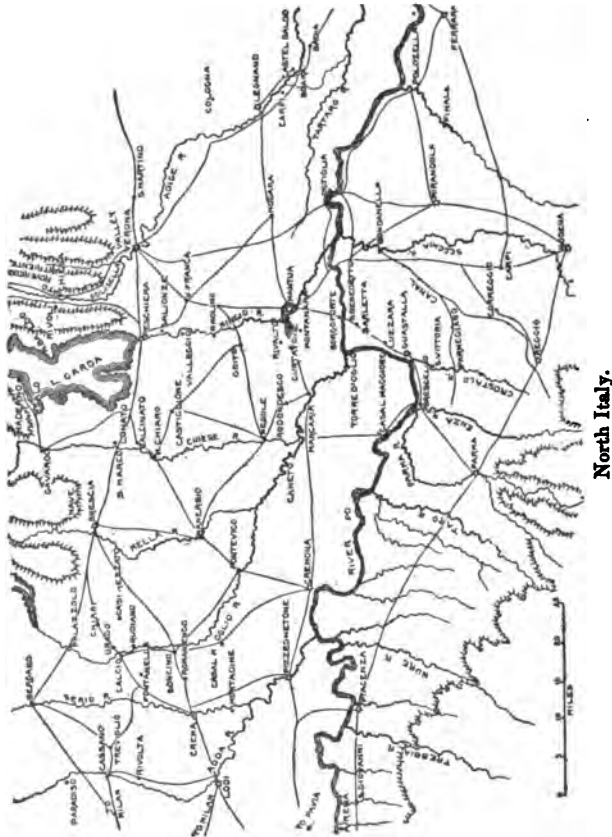
In 1698 the Austrian army continued under command of Prince Eugene, who manœuvred over much the same territory; but we cannot detail the operations, and the war eventually languished into a truce and peace.

Prince Eugene was next employed in the War of the Spanish Succession.

At the opening of 1701 the emperor had under his control not exceeding eighty-five thousand men. Of these thirty thousand, one third horse, were sent under Eugene into Italy, and assembled at Roveredo; twenty-one thousand were on the Rhine, and the rest were in Austria and Hungary. Louis XIV. and his allies had over two hundred thousand men, of whom seventy-five thousand were in Flanders, not including the garrisons of the strong places, fifteen thousand on the Moselle, forty-one thousand on the Rhine, three thousand in Alsatian garrisons, and in Italy thirty-three thousand in the field and eleven thousand in garrison, not to count some twenty thousand Savoyards and Wolfenbüttel troops. Louis' large preponderance of force and his alliance with Bavaria opened a promising chance for a summary march on Vienna with his main army, which should cross the Rhine and join the Bavarians and Wolfenbüttel troops, the whole to be sustained on the right by the advance of the Italian contingent. Such an operation might have settled the war in his favor in one campaign. The emperor would probably have succumbed, and the allies been dispersed. But Louis chose to act on the defensive, for he no longer had a Turenne to advise him; the emperor joined hands with the other enemies of France, and during the long war which followed, the empire, England and Holland were held together by the splendid abilities of Eugene, Marlborough and Heinsius.

In the early part of 1701 there were then in Italy some thirty-three thousand French in the field; five thousand in

Mantua, and six thousand in the strong places of Mirandola, Cremona, Pizzighetone, Lodi, Lecco and other towns. They were of good quality, but scarcely as able as the imperial troops, who had seen war in Hungary and were service-hard.



ened. Marshal Catinat, who was in command, with orders to remain on the defensive and not to cross to the left bank of the Adige, — in other words not to invade Venetian territory, — took up his stand at Rivoli between the lake of Garda and the Adige, where he lay athwart the imperial advance from

the Tyrol into northern Italy. Prince Eugene, whose task it was to drive the French from Italy, and who joined the army at Roveredo May 20, at once perceived that he had no resource but to violate the neutrality of Venice by crossing her territory, and determined to move down on the left bank of the Adige, and cross the river below. This was a thing he would scarcely have dared to do unless he had known by means of a secret understanding with the duke of Savoy, the happy relic of their recent joint campaigns against Catinat, that the French marshal had orders not to cross the Adige; for without this certainty Eugene laid himself open to being absolutely cut off from his base. The only good road, at that day, lay over the foothills of Monte Baldo along the right bank, and was in possession of the enemy. The route Eugene proposed to take was then a mere footpath, and a proper road over thirty miles long had to be built at vast exertion. A force of six thousand pioneers was set to work, and within a week several roads down the valleys of the Adige affluents were made practicable; but they remained so poor that the cavalry was compelled to lead the horses in single file, and the wagons and guns had to be dismounted at some places, and at others to be lowered or raised by windlasses up or down perpendicular rocks.

On this road, despite the difficulties, which were surmounted by wonderful persistence and ability, Prince Eugene moved south, and on May 28 reached Verona undiscovered by Catinat, whose orders not only tied his hands, but who must have relaxed his usual vigilance; for while Eugene worked and marched behind the mountains, a proper system of spies or scouting would have revealed his project. Eugene quite outwitted his opponent. So soon as the French general discovered the imperial manœuvre, he left part of his army at Rivoli and marched down the right bank of the Adige with

the rest; but Eugene had disposed his troops from Verona down in such a way as to make Catinat string out his own forces over a long line. He utilized the southwesterly bend of the Adige below Cologna so as to compel Catinat to occupy the bow on bad terrain, while he himself held only the chord on good, and by skillful feints managed to convince his opponent that he would pass the river above Verona, though his troops already reached down as far as Legnano. Catinat did not fathom Eugene's scheme, and tired his troops by restless marching up and down; and the prince, meanwhile keeping Catinat busy at Rivoli by a small detachment, bridged the swollen Adige and the several canals to the west, put his forces over at Castelbaldo on July 9, and taking Carpi, in front of which he beat a large French cavalry party with loss of one thousand men, he crossed the Tartaro and threatened Catinat's right flank. In this engagement Eugene himself was wounded. Like Gustavus, he was always in the thick of the fray, and his wounds were frequent, but happily not often severe.

In this combat at Carpi, it is noteworthy that Eugene employed his dragoons in exactly the same manner as we were wont to use our cavalry in the civil war: he dismounted them on ground unsuitable for cavalry, and on good terrain sent them in at a charge against the enemy. We could ask no better precedent for our American method.

When Catinat found Eugene in force below Verona, he imagined that he was about to push towards the Po, cross it and enter the Modena territory, and he still further divided his forces, leading a strong party down to Ostiglia. He had started on a wrong theory, and could not cast it off. Had Eugene pushed home at this moment, he might have turned his flank and rolled up the entire French army like a scroll; but bad roads, which made concentration difficult,

and the delay in the crossing of his heavy artillery and trains held him back, and Catinat managed to save himself by summary retreat on Villafranca, where he concentrated his scattered forces. Eugene made preparations to attack him the next day, but Catinat had now gauged the enemy's purpose, gathered his dispersed forces, withdrew in the night across the Mincio and escaped. His main force he posted between Goito and Vallegio. The prince's whole operation had been admirably planned and executed, and deserves study in detail. In fact, one can scarcely appreciate the niceties of Eugene's strategy otherwise than by following every one of his movements day by day.

Shortly after, Prince Eugene made a flank movement up river past and near by the French army; and purposing to cross the Mincio and aim for Castiglione, he assembled his bridge-material at Salionze, where on July 28 he put over the army. He expected a French attack, but Catinat declined it, and retired behind the Chiese. While in this region, Eugene tried one of his fertile schemes to get hold of Mantua by treachery, but it quite failed; the enemy kept the place.

Louis XIV., dissatisfied with Catinat's apparent neglect, and unmindful of how he had been hampered by his orders, replaced him by Villeroi, until the arrival of whom the duke of Savoy as senior assumed supreme command. The latter brought a reinforcement of seventeen thousand troops, which increased the French-Savoyard army to fifty thousand men.

By advancing a wing to Peschiera and Lonato, Prince Eugene securely regained his direct communications with the Tyrol, but the French made no signs of attacking him. He then pushed forward to Castiglione and Montechiaro, and thence to Brescia, a manœuvre which turned the left flank of the French and threatened their communications with France through the Milan district, but which in turn laid him open

to the same danger from the larger French army, that could always base on Mantua. The duke, however, thought not of any such bold scheme as a grand turning operation, but retired behind the Oglio, drawing in the troops from its upper waters down to Caneto, so as to present a new front to the imperial army.

Eugene had been victualing out of the Mantua region, but now transferred his commissariat. He had learned from the duke of Savoy that Villeroi had fighting orders, and though always active, had kept to small war only, for the enemy, now reinforced, quite outnumbered him. But in order to hold himself better, he advanced to the Oglio, took up a strong position at Chiari, and sat down to await some ten thousand reinforcements of his own which were to arrive from the Tyrol along the road west of Lake Garda, and via Salo down to Brescia, which city his position protected. He lay in the open country, but he could lean his flanks on small streams too deep to ford, of which the basin of the Po is full; and, in his front, he threw up some works. To all appearance fronting oddly in a strategic light, he was tactically well placed. Though Chiari belonged to Venice and was occupied by a Venetian garrison, Eugene put his own troops in it by force; he had already violated the Venetian territory by marching on the left bank of the Adige, and this seizure of Chiari made matters no worse. The enemy lay opposite him on the other side of the Oglio.

Catinat had in many campaigns shown himself to be a good officer, and deserved better of his king. Villeroi was a favorite at court, and got his command on that score, for he had no merit. Eugene is quoted as saying before the campaign opened, "If Villeroi is my opponent, I shall beat him; if Vendome, I shall fight with him; if Catinat, he may beat me." At that time he knew Catinat better than Vendome.

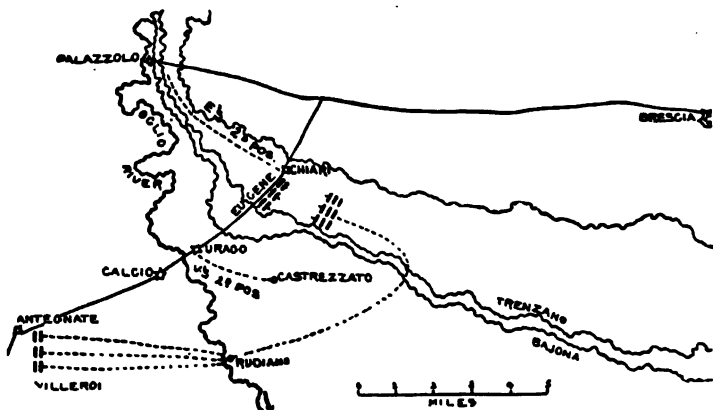
LIV.

EUGENE AGAINST VILLEROI AND VENDOME. 1701-1702.

VILLEROI's first act was to attack Eugene at Palazzolo. He had forty-five thousand men to Eugene's thirty thousand; but his attack was weak and without result; and in November he went into winter-quarters. The year's campaign had been a brilliant one on Eugene's part. Early in February he made a sudden attack on Cremona, broke in and captured Villeroi, but could not hold the city. Vendome was sent to take command of the French army, now numbering fifty thousand men. Eugene had been blockading Mantua, but Vendome, by a skillful manoeuvre, cut him off from his communications and re victualled the place; then moving around Eugene's flank, he forced him back across the Po. A battle ensued at Luzzara, which was drawn, and in November both armies went into winter-quarters. Vendome held the honors of the campaign. One of the greatest generals of this era, John Churchill, now appeared on the theatre of war. Born in 1650, he early approved himself a good soldier, and served with distinction in the English corps under Condé and Turenne. Under James II. and William III. he rose in his chosen profession by skill and courage; was made duke of Marlborough, and finally, in 1701, became general-in-chief of the allies in the Netherlands. His campaigns of 1701 to 1703 were not remarkable.

VILLEROI shortly came upon the scene, and as he was ordered, determined to attack the prince before he was reinforced. Catinat, his junior, remained with the army. With some forty-five thousand men, Villeroi crossed the Oglio at Rudiano on August 28 and 29, and so certain was he of easy victory that he neglected to fetch most of his artillery with him. Much in accordance with his character, this proved to be a foolish error. On the afternoon of September 1 he moved on the imperial army, after the barest semblance of a reconnoissance. With his thirty thousand men, Eugene had made good dispositions, and his outposts gave him early

notice of the coming of the French. He had three lines, the cavalry in the third, and in Chiari, on his left flank, and in a number of houses near by, he placed foot and artillery. His line faced nearly east, and his right leaned on two brooks. His position was strong. Villeroi advanced in good heart, never doubting victory ; but his attack on the prince's position, though heartily enough delivered and followed up, was



Chiari Operation.

beaten off by the imperial forces, with the loss of over twenty-five hundred men and many officers, while Eugene lost little. The prince declined to pursue the advantage against the odds existing ; Villeroi retired in good order to Urago, near by, and intrenched between that place and Castrezzato ; and Eugene slightly changed his position to one leaning his right on Palazzolo, and his left on Chiari. Autumn was at hand, and the rest of the year was eaten up by small war, conducted by the imperialists with great vigor and constant success.

Each day some expedition against the enemy's foragers, outposts or convoys was undertaken, but Eugene, who considered that he had won enough for this campaign, did not care

to risk what he had already gained by uncertain operations on a larger scale against so superior a force. Catinat suggested some bolder manœuvres to utilize the French excess of forces, but Villeroi was not abreast of them.

At the end of these small operations, Villeroi, on November 13, retired across the Oglio below Urago so carefully that Eugene had small chance of attacking him, and the French went into winter-quarters in the country along the Oglio and down to Cremona. The Venetians refused Eugene the right to winter on their territory, but as he could not well retire to the Tyrol and have all his work to do over again next spring, in order to drive the enemy out of the Mantua region he undertook operations which secured him a number of places, including Marcaria, Rodondesco, Torre d' Oglio, Ostiglia, Borgoforte and Ponte Molino, in fact all the towns of importance save Mantua and Goito; he captured Mirandola, where was much material, in the middle of December, and Guastalla shortly after; strengthened the crossings of the Oglio, nearly all of which he controlled, cut the French off from Mantua, and himself went into cantonments in three lines along the Oglio and Mincio, with his left resting on the Po. Headquarters were at San Benedetto, and a big outpost lay in the Parma territory, while Parma itself was occupied, though against the consent of the duke. The imperial general had a good country to victual from and could quickly concentrate. The Savoyard army marched back to Piedmont.

According to the ideas of the day, Prince Eugene's campaign had been exceedingly brilliant; he had kept the initiative at all times; but it is true that he was aided by the limitations of the generals opposed to him. Catinat could not cross the Adige, a fact which allowed Eugene all the liberty of action he desired on the east bank; the secret understand-

ing with the duke of Savoy, which gave the prince access to all the news he desired, was a vital point in his favor; and finally the breaking up of the French army into small detachments, together with the poor management of Villeroi, made in his favor. But he had shown exceptional activity and enterprise; his work in all respects had been able and soldierly, and the campaign redounds much to his honor. He had taken advantage of all the openings the enemy had given him, and if we should gauge all generals by the opposition they encountered, there would be few great reputations. It is rare that great captains have been matched by equal talent.

In 1702 Prince Eugene was again in command of the imperial forces with which he had in the previous campaign pushed the French back to the Milanese, and which he had withdrawn towards winter to the neighborhood of Mantua. He had kept up an activity all winter to which the inertness of Villeroi formed a great contrast; he had blockaded Mantua, which at the beginning of January he proceeded with some twelve thousand men to shut in more thoroughly; and in order to hold his lines securely, he watched the Po above his position with much care, and collected supplies in the towns of Brescello, Guastalla, Luzzara, Mirandola and Borgoforte. The enemy considerably outnumbered him; and his task in this campaign was to hold himself in Italy rather than to push the enemy out of it. General Vaudemont was stationed in the Parma country.

On the 1st of February Prince Eugene carried out a scheme which he had for some time had in view, against the fortress of Cremona, where the bulk of the French were stationed, and where Villeroi had his headquarters. In his pay was an admirable corps of spies, from whom he got much information. By corrupting a priest, whose house was near

the north city wall, a few imperial soldiers got admitted through a drain into the city, and at the preconcerted hour of 8 A. M., opened one of the adjacent gates to a force headed by Prince Eugene. Within a few minutes the latter was inside, with two thousand infantry and somewhat more cavalry, and before the garrison was aware of any danger the place was taken, and Villeroi, whose quarters were close at hand, was made a prisoner.

But the event was not as fortunate as the beginning. General Vaudemont (the son, for the father was serving under Villeroi) had been instructed to aid the stratagem from Parma by attacking and taking the Cremona bridge-head from the south, and thus opening communication with Eugene and an outlet for retreat; but he failed to do this, and when the scheme was on the very eve of success, the garrison got under arms, and during the whole day energetically fought to expel the enemy. Finally the French gained their point, and Eugene, with a loss of twelve hundred men, was obliged to retire. The marquis of Créqui was on the march to help the garrison, and had he come up, Eugene might have been captured himself; but on hearing a report that Cremona had been taken, Créqui pusillanimously turned back without attempting to verify the rumor, and Eugene got away by the Margaret gate on the east, crossed the Oglio, and retired to camp with his prisoner.

When, on March 1, Vendome, the successor of Villeroi, arrived in Cremona and took command of the French army lying on the Adda, he first sat down to wait for some twenty-five thousand reinforcements to arrive, and then planned to march to the Mincio, place himself on the communications of Eugene with the Tyrol, and either force him to battle, or compel him to throw up the blockade of Mantua. While waiting his accessions and the proper moment to act, he made

an attempt to help Mantua by moving on Eugene's position on the Po; but Eugene outmanœuvred him, met him at every point, and not only held fast the blockade, but kept up a series of annoying raids into the Milanese and Cremona districts.

Louis Joseph, Duke of Vendome, was born in 1654, had early served in the Gardes du Corps in the Netherlands,



Vendome.

under Turenne on the Rhine, and under Condé in Flanders. He became familiar with Italy by serving as a junior in the campaigns conducted by Catinat. In 1695 he commanded the French army in Spain, freed Palamos, and captured Barcelona. A splendid soldier, in private life he was shiftless, indecorous and showed little ambition; it required

the stimulus of arms to rouse his naturally indolent nature; and sometimes even this failed to do so. In the field he often showed determination unsurpassed, as well as a marked gallantry and intelligence; but he was not always careful to guard the secret of his operations.

Having had his forces raised to over fifty thousand men, Vendome left Cremona well garrisoned and the line of the Adda and Po sufficiently posted, and with twenty thousand men marched, May 12, over the Oglio at Pontevico, crossed the Mella, May 15, at Manerbio, turned to the right over the Chiese at Medole, and reached Goito May 23. This handsome march, made before Eugene could do aught to interrupt or neutralize it, was a clear check to the imperial commander, for it not only cut him off from his main line of communications, — the direct road to the Tyrol, — but at the same time raised the blockade of Mantua on the north. The prince at

once recognized his situation. He might readily have been drawn into fatal manœuvres or a still more fatal battle; but he quietly withdrew to his lower Mantua lines with troops which had been reinforced up to thirty-nine thousand men, took up a strong position, May 17, near Montanara and Curtatone, intrenched it, and here still held Mantua in a species of blockade. But Vendome's presence in superior force between Goito and Mantua could not fail to become dangerous to the imperial army, and Eugene concluded to draw in his forces from the towns surrounding Mantua, and to watch for further developments while victualing his forces over the bridge at Borgoforte from the magazines which he had so judiciously established in the Modena country on the other side of the Po. From Brescello to Ostiglia his possession of the Po was made secure.

Upon this withdrawal of Eugene, Vendome was enabled to revictual Mantua, and then took up his post opposite Eugene near Rivalto, where both armies remained *in situ* for a month, indulging only in small war and cannonading. An attempt to duplicate the capture of Villeroy by seizing Vendome in his quarters at Rivalto came so close to success as to make the French general careful where he established himself.

Eugene's position was peculiar. He stood between the Po and the Mincio, the enemy, who outnumbered him, in his front, and Mantua on his right, against whose sorties he now had to intrench himself. The neutral Venetians held the line of the Adige with twenty-six thousand men for their own protection, and Eugene could have a line of retreat on its left bank by marching over their territory; but his original line of retreat was gone. Now again heavily reinforced from Spain, Vendome was anxious to oust Eugene from his position; but, as he did not like to make a front attack, he left Vaudemont with twenty-three thousand men in his Rivalto

lines astride the imperial communications, and boldly started, July 7, with the van of other twenty-three thousand, towards Cremona and Casal Maggiore, proposing to cross the Po and by a flank attack seek to cut off his opponent from his Modena holdings and capture his magazines. Thus, he thought, he would force him into a situation which would compel him to leave Italy. His object in marching so far up the Po as Cremona was perhaps to meet Philip V. of Spain, who was coming on a visit to the allied armies.

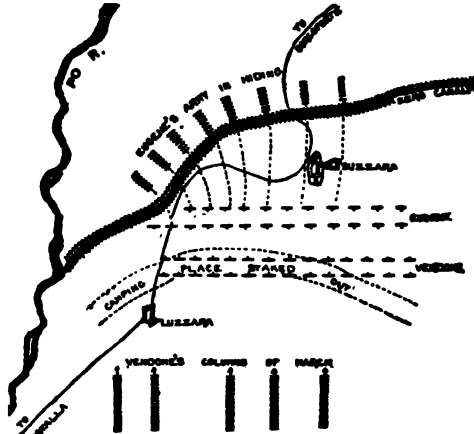
Eugene guessed his opponent's intention, and increased his detachments at Borgoforte and Brescello, where he had bridges over the Po, and at Guastalla.

Crossing the river, July 14, in two columns, at Cremona and Casal Maggiore, Vendome met at Santa Vittoria some imperial horse which Eugene sent out to watch the operation, beat it with a loss of six hundred men, captured Reggio, Modena and Carpi, and having got together thirty-six thousand troops, marched to Luzzara, August 15, hoping to seize on Eugene's bridges over the Po. He was doing brilliant work.

Matters looked threatening for Eugene. It seemed as if battle with a superior enemy was his only outlet, and on this he determined. By skillfully deceiving Vaudemont, he withdrew most of his forces from his front, crossed the Po at Borgoforte August 1, reinforced his army from garrisons up to twenty-six thousand men and fifty-seven guns, also marched straight on Luzzara, and on August 3 reached Sailleto, just south of the crossing. Strong garrisons were left in his magazine towns.

Vendome had called on the commander of the place to surrender, and on refusal had taken the town but not the citadel; and then, heedless of Eugene, prepared to camp nearby. The old accounts of this battle are a good deal confused,

and the old charts do not show the topography of to-day. Along the Po near Luzzara there was said to be a canal or an embankment to arrest the frequent inundations of the river, and high enough to conceal a considerable army. The old charts call it the Zero Canal. At all events, it is certain that the country was much cut up by embankments, dikes, ditches, hedges, patches of woods, so much so that only careful scouting would discover an enemy. On this terrain Eugene, who with his entire force of infantry and cavalry had advanced in two columns along the Po, and now lay in a sort of ambush, hoped to fall suddenly on the French when they should go into camp, as he was advised by his scouts that they were about to do. Vendome's people were exceedingly careless in outpost duty, and the French army had marched up and was preparing to camp without discovering the presence of the enemy. Just before Eugene was ready



Battle of Luzzara.

to debouch from hiding and fall upon the French, Vendome, by the curiosity of an outpost commander, was fortunate enough to discover the ambush, and by the time Eugene had got his men through the difficult country and into line, so had Vendome. It was 5 P. M. The imperialists of the right wing worked their way through the many obstacles and fell on the French left with great fury; but they were met by

equal gallantry, and for hours a bloody struggle was maintained. Eugene reported that in several regiments every officer fell, and that the fighting was kept up under command of the sergeants. In the centre Vendome opposed Eugene, but the latter gained some ground. On the left the imperial gain was more marked, as the ground was more open and the cavalry could better operate. In every respect it was a fiercely contested battle, but without any special show of grand-tactics. Up to past midnight the struggle went on along the line in places, breaking out at intervals on either side; and it had been hot enough to cost each army some two thousand killed, and on the French side four thousand and on the imperial side two thousand wounded. Eugene had by no means made the gain he had anticipated, which was to drive the French from his vicinity; nor indeed had he lost the battle, for both sides claimed a victory.

Eugene, who is unusually accurate in his reports, says that he kept the field and collected all his wounded, while the French were driven more than one thousand paces back from it, a statement which seems to vouch for an imperial success. Both armies remained near enough together to indulge in cannonading next day. At all events, Eugene had accomplished his end by putting a summary stop to Vendome's advance and to the danger of being driven out of the Modena country.

Vendome ordered Vaudemont to blockade Borgoforte; but Eugene kept free enough to send his light horse out on raids, even so far as into the Milanese. One enterprising raid is worth mentioning. A party of six hundred hussars under General Davia started from camp, rode up the Po, crossed the Enza, Parma, Taro, Rura and Trebbia, seized the bridge at Arena, crossed, forced a heavy contribution on Pavia, and marched on and into Milan. Thence easterly

they crossed the Adda at Cassano, the Oglio at Calcio, the Mincio at Valleggio, and arrived safe and laden with enormous booty at Ostiglia. This was the sort of work Eugene's tremendous vitality was apt to inspire in his subordinates. For fifty-five days the armies stood *en face* near Luzzara, and Vendome only captured Guastalla. Eugene was too weak to do more than hold his own; but Vendome was able successively to seize several of Eugene's Modena magazines, though not Mirandola. He made an attempt on this place by moving on Bondanello on the Secchia; but while on the march to this latter place, Eugene quietly drew in most of the Borgoforte garrison, rapidly moved across the Secchia, and on November 8 drew up to defend the river; and though Vendome had much the larger force, he declined to attack. But he shortly got Borgoforte, whose garrison was thus depleted.

Prince Eugene attempted later to gain possession of the Guastalla bridge, as well as made an attack on Mantua; but failing in both efforts, he gave up all his holdings on the left bank of the Po and went into winter-quarters in the vicinity of Mirandola. The French, in November, also put their fifty-six thousand men (not counting garrisons) into winter-quarters, with headquarters in Guastalla.

The campaign had been decidedly in favor of Vendome, who with his superior forces had conducted it with much ability, and may be said to have gained substantial repute by his boldness and intelligence. Prince Eugene, though to be sure his army was but half that of his opponent, had been forced back to the right bank of the Po and been cooped up in the Mirandola country; but he had not been driven out of Italy; and all his operations were active and able. Though Vendome had accomplished more, yet Eugene had shown the greater ability. An exceptional circumstance in the cam-

paings of 1701-1702 is that Prince Eugene called on Austria for scarcely any support. He built his road from the Tyrol down, and subsisted his men on the enemy's territory. He so disposed his magazines that being cut off from his direct communications with the Tyrol by no means fatally compromised him. All this was an unusual thing in those days. The operations had cost Austria little in men or material. Eugene had, considering his force and the fact that his opponent was one of the best soldiers of the day, conducted a very handsome campaign. Perhaps the most noteworthy fact of the 1702 campaign is that Eugene grasped and acted on the theory that the weaker of two generals must never await attack, but himself assume the offensive. This was Frederick's great power; and Eugene distinctly exhibited it. At Luzzara he advanced on the enemy; during the whole campaign his activity in small war never relaxed; and he always managed to keep a central position with interior lines. He was recalled to Vienna, received with enthusiasm, and made president of the imperial council of war. During the succeeding year he was not in the field.

There had come upon the theatre of the War of the Spanish Succession a soldier as remarkable as Eugene, and one with whom his name was to be imperishably coupled. John Churchill was born in Devonshire July 5, 1650, thirteen years before his colleague, his father being a royalist, his mother a daughter of Sir Francis Drake. Educated at St. Paul's school, he entered the army at sixteen years old, under the patronage of the duke of York, and first saw service in the war against Tangiers, where he was distinguished as a volunteer in all hazardous exploits. In 1672, at the beginning of the second Netherlands War, he was captain in the English corps, and at Nymwegen Turenne highly and justly complimented him. A certain position under a French officer

had been lost by a Dutch attack. Turenne is said to have bet a champagne supper that "*son bel Anglais*," with half the troops which had just been driven back, would take it; and Churchill gallantly won him his bet. Next year he earned the public thanks of Louis XIV. for services at the siege of Maestricht, was soon made colonel, and, as such, in 1674, served under Turenne on the Rhine.

Four years after, he participated in the campaign in Flanders, and for three years succeeding was with the banished duke of York in the Netherlands and Belgium. His fidelity earned him his baronetcy and promotion; and



Marlborough.

when the duke became James II. he was made peer and French ambassador. Engaged at Sedgmoor against the insurgents, he afterwards went over to William III., and was made lieutenant-general and duke of Marlborough in 1686.

At the battle of Walcourt (1689) against the French, in the Netherlands, he showed marked skill, and the king desired him to go to Ireland in 1690, to serve against James II. But Marlborough declined to go thither until after James had left that country, when he drove back the insurgents in Cork, Kinsale and Ulster. Notwithstanding his treasonable correspondence with James, the king kept him in favor, and took him to the Netherlands in 1691; and though in the next year he fell from favor and was imprisoned in the Tower, he was again called to court, showered with honors and dignities, made captain-general, and sent to the Netherlands as plenipotentiary, in 1701. Queen Anne, on her accession, com-

missioned him general-in-chief of the English forces, and, in 1702, conferred the Garter on him.

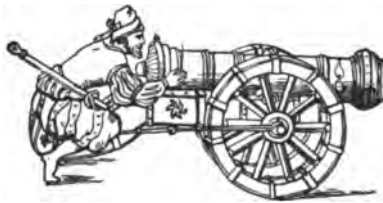
Although, under the common belief that the divine right of ruling confers like military skill, there were many claimants to the command of the allied armies, — the king of Prussia, the Archduke Charles, the elector of Hanover, the duke of Zell, and especially Prince George of Denmark, husband of Queen Anne, — the Dutch estates insisted upon their own choice, and the duke of Marlborough, in 1702, was made commander-in-chief of the allies in the Netherlands. For this action there were two good reasons: the confidence of the Dutch in his ability, and their desire to have a commander whom their field deputies could control. Owing to political complications, Marlborough did not reach his army till midsummer, the earl of Athlone having meanwhile been engaged in the siege of Kaiserswörth, which fell June 15, and in checking Marshal Boufflers' raid on Nymwegen. Three weeks later Marlborough crossed the Maas at Grave with his sixty thousand men, made up of English, German and Dutch troops. He was anxious for battle with Marshal Boufflers, who had some forty thousand men, but the Dutch field deputies held him back, and he was reduced to a campaign of sieges. Capturing Venlo, Roermond, Stevensweert and Lüttich (Liège), he forced the French behind the Mehaigne. This was already a marked gain; it put the situation in the Netherlands on a new footing; the French were cut off from what they had deemed their highway, the Rhine, and a secure waterway was open from the Dutch ports to the army of the allies at the front, — no mean success. The allied position moreover threatened Brussels and Cologne, and Marlborough began to be looked on as the saviour of the Netherlands. Had he been given his own way, he might have spared much future waste of lives and treasure; for

Marlbrough belongs to those generals who only now and then were given an opportunity of doing their very best; of whom it cannot be said how great they might have become had they possessed unlimited power.

Next year (1708) was a repetition of the same story. Holland at that day bristled with fortifications, built under the eye of the most distinguished engineers, the Frenchman Vauban and the Dutchman Coehorn at their head, and the presence of these interfered with free manœuvring. A single fortress in its rear may not be dangerous to an army; but when they are so numerous that detachments from their garrisons can make up a body able to threaten the communications of an army advancing beyond their lines, greater caution is required; and unless a commander had sufficient troops to detail large observation parties for each strong place, it could scarcely be deemed wise to leave them behind him. This view, then universal, was warmly espoused by the Dutch deputies. They constantly restrained Marlborough, who had designs on Antwerp and Ostende, and who in any event was inclined to fight as the best military policy; and he was now fain to be content with besieging Bonn. Villeroy, who had returned from Italy, sought meanwhile to interfere with Marlborough's siege by an advance on Maestricht; but Bonn fell May 15, — in season to allow Marlborough, who with his lieutenant Overkirk had fifty-five thousand men, to head him off. Villeroy and Boufflers, however, quite negatived his attempt in June on Antwerp, in which operation Boufflers beat a large force of the Dutch who formed the right of the concentrically operating forces, and Marlborough had no success. Later he fell back behind the Maas, and in August and September took Huy and Limburg, and the Prussians, under Count Lottum, Geldern.

This campaign is neither of especial interest, nor does it

reflect any great credit on its management ; but from giving it its trivial character Marlborough must be absolved ; for the Dutch deputies were constantly at his elbow, and their view of the military necessities of the case savored of astigmatism. Tired of his slow-moving masters, — for he saw other generals winning victories, and felt conscious of his own power to do the like, — Marlborough determined to march into Germany in 1704, and there conduct his campaign. It was evident to all that Bavaria was the key of the theatre of war.



French Cannon. (16th Century.)

LV.

VILLARS. 1703.

IN 1703 Vendome opposed Stahremberg in Italy, but the latter outmanœuvred him, and finally, Savoy having joined the allies, made a splendid march around his position to Piedmont. On the Rhine Villars opened the campaign by a brilliant foray. Crossing at Hüningen, he marched down the river to the Stollhofen lines, capturing everything on the way. Later, he again crossed, advanced to the Danube country, joined the elector of Bavaria, and proposed to march on Vienna; but the elector declined the operation as too hazardous. Some interesting manœuvres occurred between him and the prince of Baden when Villars was succeeded by Marsin. He had operated with boldness and skill. In this campaign occurred the first bayonet charge on record. Bavaria was looked on as the battle-ground for 1704, and both France and the allies made preparations to concentrate their efforts there.

IN the Italian campaign of 1703 Vendome did not do himself the same credit as in the previous one. His opponent was Count Stahremberg, whose position on the right bank of the Po, where Eugene had left the army, was one of much difficulty, as his communications with the Tyrol and Austria ran across the Po at Ostiglia, the Adige at Castelbaldo, and up to Triente, a treacherous route, full of obstacles, through Venetian territory, and easy to interrupt. Vendome had sixty-two thousand men to Stahremberg's twenty odd thousand, and a decided advance in force on his opponent at any suitable point must have resulted in crushing him. But his natural love of ease appearing this year to get the better of him, Vendome preferred slower operations, and divided his forces. With twenty-seven thousand men, he himself marched to Ostiglia and sent his brother, who was his second in command, with twenty thousand on the south of the Po

to the Secchia, behind which lay Stahremberg. The latter, well aware of the movements through his scouts, carefully held Ostiglia, covered the Po bridge with a suitable force, and waited. As Vendome approached on the north of him, and the younger Vendome had actually crossed the Secchia, which operation Stahremberg did not attempt to prevent, and as General Alberghatti with four thousand men had penetrated to Finale on the south of him, Stahremberg opened the sluices of the Po at Ostiglia, laid the entire country under water so as to prevent Vendome's advance, and turning sharply on Alberghatti, gave him a severe beating, and again took up his post in the Mirandola region. Quite unsettled by this unexpected and original proceeding, the French retired up the Po along both banks, and Vendome remained inactive for six weeks.

The duke of Savoy, with whom Prince Eugene had been sedulously laboring, now declared for the allies. This proved a great gain: it secured the passes in the Alps against falling into the hands of the French, and made more difficult their reinforcing their Danube army from Italy. Vendome, after a fruitless because indolent march to join the elector of Bavaria in the Tyrol for an advance on Vienna, — the emasculated outcome of an excellent scheme of Villars, — returned to Italy. He had large forces, and his position between Stahremberg and the duke of Savoy would have enabled him to operate successfully against each in turn; but he did nothing, despite his superiority, and finally went into winter-quarters at Asti, leaving his brother to face Stahremberg.

The Austrian now saw his chance, and executed the one manoeuvre which makes this campaign worth a notice. It was a fine one. He concluded that the war in Italy could be conducted to better advantage if he should join hands with the duke of Savoy than by operating in two bodies, each of

which was too weak. A part of Vendome's force was in his front; but, throwing up his communications with the Tyrol, as well as his Mirandola magazine, he moved around the French left, deceived the enemy as to his intentions, pushed rapidly up the left bank of the Po, and joined the duke in Nizza della Paglia in Piedmont. The French hovered on his flank and rear, not infrequently placing him in grievous danger, but Stahremberg turned and twisted with rapidity and skill, and forestalled all their efforts. This operation was entirely sound, but it was quite outside of the usual system and deserves all praise. Stahremberg was the hero of the Italian campaign of 1703.

At the opening of the War of Succession, as above observed, Louis XIV., with his overwhelming forces and allies, missed his best opportunity in not taking the offensive. In 1703 he determined to repair his error. The theatre of the German campaign was again curiously divided, for Prince Louis of Baden was the ally of the emperor, while the elector of Bavaria was allied to France, thus placing both Baden and Bavaria between two fires. Resolved to conduct no longer a war of sieges, Louis XIV. conceived the brilliant strategic plan of a march on Vienna down the Danube, utilizing his connection with the elector of Bavaria to afford him a secondary base. Simple as the problem appears to us, the scheme really showed strong penetration on the part of Louis and his counselors.

Louis was to begin by uniting an army of thirty thousand men under Villars with that of the elector of Bavaria, who also had thirty thousand men in the field, and twenty odd thousand in garrison in his various cities: Ingolstadt, Neu-markt, Munich, Augsburg and smaller towns. Villars was on the upper Rhine at Hüningen and Neuenburg, while Tallard with twelve thousand men was on the Moselle, holding

the border fortresses. The plan of the emperor, on the other hand, was to attack the elector and sunder him from the French alliance before Villars came up; and for this purpose he collected on the left bank of the Danube nine thousand men under Marshal Styrum, and twenty thousand on the right bank under Marshal Schlick. Prince Louis, with thirty thousand imperialists, occupied the right bank of the Rhine, from the Lake of Constance to the Stollhofen fortified line, strung along the whole distance in small detachments; held Breisach and Freiburg, and posted his main



Villars.

body on the Kinzig near Kehl, where he dominated the crossing. A body of nine thousand men was ordered from Holland to the Moselle to hold head against the French at that point, and to draw them from operations on the Rhine.

Louis Hector de Villars came of a noble family, but poor and out of favor. He was born in 1653, and at twenty distinguished himself at the siege of Maestricht by such exceptional bravery that he attracted the king's eye. After the bloody battle of Senef, he was promoted on the field to the command of a cavalry regiment. He was ambassador to Vienna in 1678, and again later, and in the Netherlands war in 1689, he rose to be field-marshal. He served under Ville-roi and Catinat, and in October, 1702, won a handsome victory at Friedlingen over the prince of Baden. He now for the first time received command of an important army.

Villars opened the campaign in February by a brilliant *coup*. He crossed the Rhine at Hünigen and Neuenburg, marched rapidly down the right bank, passed under the very

walls of Breisach and Freiburg, beat a body of nine thousand men on the Elz, and drove the imperial forces, which were yet in cantonments, to take refuge in the Stollhofen lines. He then took Offenburg, with the abundant supplies of material and victual of the prince of Baden there lying, left a force to observe Kehl, which capitulated March 10, moved back up the Kinzig valley, and made another big capture in Haslach.

The emperor, quite aghast at this sudden irruption into his ally's territory, hurried some troops from the Danube to Swabia. Villars, one third of whose troops were without muskets, and who it was purposed should march to Bavaria, deferred this advance, occupied Kehl, and retired across the Rhine. His brilliant raid, for such it was, formed a curious contrast to the slow and tedious operations of the other generals of this year.

This foray of Villars was really what enabled the elector of Bavaria to turn against the imperial marshals, Styrum and Schlick; and to beat their depleted forces in detail in the Inn-Danube region, an operation which he conducted with marked vigor, winning in two important engagements and pushing the enemy well back. Had he operated with his entire fifty thousand men, instead of leaving nearly half of them dormant in his fortresses, his success would have been of more value. As it was, the enemy's forces were not definitely crippled, for the imperial generals had as many men as he had put afield.

Not long after, Villars, who had got his army into better shape, to counteract the renewed efforts of the imperial forces on the Danube, added Tallard's Moselle force to his own, and crossed the Rhine at Strasburg with fifty thousand men, purposing to capture the Stollhofen lines. But Prince Louis met him with such good countenance that he gave up this

plan and, leaving Tallard to observe the lines, he moved with thirty thousand up the Kinzig and down the Esch to Tuttlingen, through the Danube valley, and May 10 joined the elector of Bavaria at Riedlingen on that river. The two armies numbered sixty thousand men. Unable to forestall it, the prince of Baden cleverly matched this manœuvre by leaving fifteen thousand of his forces at Stollhofen, and by moving with sixteen thousand men to Stuttgart, where he joined Styrum, who had advanced to meet him, and thus made up an army of thirty-six thousand men.

Villars now proposed to the elector to carry out the masterly plan already mentioned, by a march with their sixty thousand men down the valley of the Danube, straight on Vienna, leaving Tallard to hold head to the prince of Baden. But the elector, fearing that Tallard might fail in this duty and that his own territory might be devastated meanwhile, was unwilling to enter into so extended a plan. Villars then suggested a march through the Tyrol, whither Vendome could send twenty thousand reinforcements from Italy. The first suggested march was a bold one to make; it might have put an end to the war; but speed alone could lend it success. The second necessitated waiting for the Italian contingent, and this forfeited the most essential element.

Uncertain of himself, the elector was intractable with Villars, and this enterprising general was fain to lie still and see the precious opportunity slip away. Neither plan was carried out. Villars placed himself on the left bank of the Danube between Lauingen and Dillingen, to protect Bavaria, while in June the elector marched to the Tyrol to meet the French forces which should come from Italy under Vendome; but these, as we have seen, never reached him, and he got no farther. Meanwhile the duke of Burgundy, with a fresh army of nearly forty thousand men, operated against the

Stollhofen lines. There was no lack of men ; a leader was wanting in the French army.

Unwilling to attack Villars in his strong position at Lauingen, and having had a division, which he sent to manœuvre against the French, beaten at one of the near-by Danube crossings, the prince of Baden conceived a bold plan for turning Villars out of his holding, and for compromising the elector as well. Leaving Styrum and twenty thousand men to watch Villars at Lauingen, he marched with twenty-seven thousand up the river to above Ulm, crossed, moved rapidly on Augsburg and took it ; and then assumed a strong position between the Lech and the Wertach, where he cut asunder the two armies of the enemy.

Although this movement compelled the elector to withdraw from his advance on the Tyrol, it was a mistake, in that the prince of Baden himself divided his forces ; and if the elector had speeded his return, Villars and he between them could have crushed the prince with his smaller force beyond a doubt. But the elector was too slow to cut off Prince Louis, who on his approach retired north from Augsburg ; and having joined Villars, the bulk of both allied armies retired to Donauwörth, where their efforts were now devoted to keeping the imperial armies apart.

Shortly after, in September, Marshal Styrum moved to Höchstädt on the left bank of the Danube, expecting to join the prince of Baden somewhere west of the mouth of the Lech. Villars and the elector determined to destroy him before he could complete the junction. Sending from Dillingen, by a circuit, a force under General Jussion to attack Styrum's rear, the Franco-Bavarian army, on September 19, prepared to fall upon his front. But Jussion advanced on Styrum too early and was thrust back, and when Villars and the elector reached his lines and drove Styrum in, Jussion

made no second attack, but allowed the imperialist to slip from between the two armies and retire to Nördlingen. Villars' dispositions, though smartly carried out, thus failed to accomplish the destruction of the imperial force; Styrum still aimed to join the prince; but as he could not well do so in Bavaria, he sought to move up river.

Leaving a body on the Lech to cover Bavaria and to insure against a junction of the enemy there, Villars marched with twenty-five thousand men to Wieblingen, on the Iller near Ulm, to head off the prince in his efforts to reach Styrum further up the Danube. The prince marched to Kempten, a cross-roads on the east of the upper Iller, if perchance, by a long circuit, he might accomplish his purpose; and Villars, reinforced up to fifty-four thousand men, marched to Memmingen, resolved to force battle on him as a preventive measure; but the prince kept well ahead of him, and fearing battle at a disadvantage, passed on a line well to the south of Villars, and made good his retreat to Leutkirch on the other side of the Iller.

Villars still followed, with a view of forcing him to battle before Styrum could come up; but his relations with the elector had become so strained that while he was preparing a fresh manœuvre he was relieved of his command. His successor, Marshal Marsin, put the troops into winter-quarters on the Lech, an example which was followed by all the armies. The prince of Baden finally joined Styrum, who marched west from Nördlingen, and went into winter-quarters covering a wide territory, between Lake Constance and the Neckar.

France lost much in removing Villars. It was such exceptional boldness and energy as his which promised to accomplish the results which would tell in her favor. Had Villars been unhampered, we must conclude from what he did under unfavorable circumstances that he would have worsted the

average generals opposed to him, and have placed France much nearer to success. His 1703 campaign was a remarkable one; it showed great ability, singular push, and a decided preference for fighting over manœuvres. Moreover he was opposed by an active and intelligent soldier, the prince of Baden.

The operations on the Rhine, this year, were not important, nor characterized by anything out of the ordinary, except the first bayonet charge on record, not preceded by fire. The prince of Hesse was advancing on Speyer, at the head of twenty-four thousand men, purposing to relieve Landau, when Field-Marshal Tallard, who had just blockaded the place, went out to meet him with nineteen thousand. As the prince was crossing the Speyerbach, Tallard's column reached the stream. Seizing the instant, and without waiting to form line of battle, Tallard ployed his marching columns into column of attack, and just as they were, charged in on the enemy with the bayonet. The result was a brilliant victory. It is odd to note that military critics looked on this charge as a gross error, an inexcusable variation from the rules of the art, and universally condemned it; though had Tallard commanded pikemen merely, the charge would have been his only resource, and would have been considered bold and skillful. In any event, Tallard had won, and concluded his work by the capture of Landau, to the confusion — in our eyes — of the critics.

In the campaign of 1703 the emperor had been sadly hampered by the rebellion in Hungary, which monopolized many troops and more attention. The year had made the French masters of the middle Rhine crossings. Landau and Neubreisach enabled them to debouch into the enemy's country, and Bavaria was a salient thrust forward into it by which to reach and manœuvre on the Danube. In the Netherlands

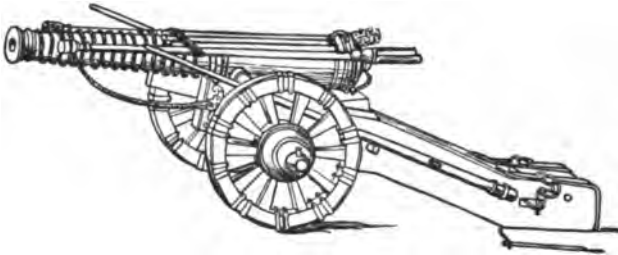
France had lost nothing. The allies in 1704 needed the most brilliant of success to retrieve their cause; and thanks to Marlborough and Eugene, they won it.

The alliance of Bavaria was particularly important to both contestants, and at the opening of the campaign the generals on both sides looked upon that electorate as the objective and probable theatre of operations. Elsewhere the campaign was less marked. For France, Bavarian amity was useful because it would keep the war off French territory, and made a secondary base for the French operations against the emperor. To the emperor, Bavaria was necessary because by occupying it he robbed France of a strong ally, and from Bavaria, with Baden in his favor, he could carry the war into France, instead of seeing it waged near or within his own frontiers. Bavaria was ill placed, being the battle-ground of both contestants.

It was planned for 1704 to send Tallard and Marsin with fifty thousand men into Bavaria, where, added to the elector's troops, there would be ninety-five thousand men, and it was hoped that such a force might make a decided impression on the war. But Tallard was anxious to operate alone, and the king was prevailed on to order Marsin, who had wintered in the Augsburg country, to march towards the sources of the Danube, take ten thousand men over from Tallard, and with this reduced force to operate with the elector against the emperor. Tallard, thus left to himself, proposed to manoeuvre against the Stollhofen lines, and actually opened operations.

If the imperial generals had concentrated their forces on the middle Rhine against either Tallard or Marsin, they could have beaten the French marshals separately. The prince of Baden did assemble thirty-five thousand men at Rothweil, and strove to cut Marsin off from Bavaria; but he

was slow and undecided, and instead of moving on Tuttlingen, so as to reach Marsin's flank and rear, he marched to Villingen, and thus opened to Marsin the main road to Bavaria; after which he could only follow him up and take post at Munderkingen on the Danube, while Marsin took position at Ulm. Meanwhile Marlborough was ordered from the Netherlands to Germany.



Cannon Royal. (16th Century.)

LVI.

MARLBOROUGH AND EUGENE. 1704.

THE Dutch deputies had tied Marlborough's hands in the Netherlands; but in 1704 he got their consent to move to Bavaria, marched unopposed up the Rhine, crossed, joined Louis of Baden, and reached the Danube with sixty thousand men. Eugene remained at Stollhofen to contain the French, while Marlborough and Baden opposed the elector of Bavaria and Marsin. Moving down to Donauwörth, Marlborough captured the Schellenberg with excessive loss, crossed to the south bank, and moved on Augsburg. Tallard now left the Rhine and marched to the relief of Marsin and the elector; Eugene at once followed, leaving part of his force in Stollhofen, for without him the allies might be overwhelmed. The French withdrew from Augsburg to the left bank of the Danube; Baden besieged Ingolstadt, and Marlborough and Eugene joined near Donauwörth. They had fifty-six thousand men; the French and Bavarians perhaps sixty thousand. Near Höchstädt (or Blenheim) the two armies came into accidental collision, and both were willing to fight.

MARLBOROUGH had determined to shake the Dutch shackles from his wrists, and his skillful diplomacy proved equal to the task. The Dutch estates first gave their consent to his advancing up and across the Rhine, and later, if he could neutralize Villeroy, to his continuing on to Bavaria. The emperor, with the Hungarian rebellion and the French successes of 1703, was in ill case; Vienna seemed to be threatened; and this danger to one of the principal allies was peril to all. With reinforcements Marlborough had got thirty thousand English troops in the Low Countries, fifty thousand in all under his immediate command; with sixteen thousand men, on the opening of operations early in May, he crossed the Meuse at Maestricht, proceeded to Bonn and up

the left bank of the Rhine, passed at Coblenz May 26, after taking in enough garrisons to nearly double his force; and on June 3 had marched to Ladenburg on the Neckar near its mouth, where he crossed a few days later. His progress, according to modern ideas, had been quite slow, but good for the times. Becoming aware of his advance, the French seemed to lose their heads; they grew fearful for their Alsatian fortresses, particularly Landau, and quickly concentrated here from the Netherlands, the Moselle and the middle Rhine all the troops of Villeroi, Coigny and Tallard, nearly sixty thousand in the aggregate, to check Marlborough, whose intention they could not divine. Luckily for him, however, they made no attempt to interfere with his progress as they readily might have done, but allowed him to cross the Rhine and move up to Ladenburg unmolested. From here Marlborough, as if aiming for Ulm, marched via Heilbronn (June 8) through the rugged country which ends in the Geislingen defile, debouched into the Danube flats, and in good order, June 22, joined Prince Louis' thirty-two thousand men from the upper Danube, making an army over sixty thousand strong, with forty-eight guns. The road was new to him, but an old one to the French and German generals.

This march is spoken of by English authors as an entirely exceptional performance. Though as a strategic operation it was in truth a stroke of the happiest, it was no more than had been frequently made before. Not to speak of the greater, many of the lesser lights had often done as much. Duke Bernard had gone from the Rhine way beyond the Isar; Banér had marched from the Baltic to the Danube; Torstenson had marched from the Baltic to Vienna; Turenne and Wrangel had repeatedly started from the upper or the lower Rhine and had pushed far into the empire, — once to

the banks of the Inn; Montecuculi had forced his way from Vienna to the Netherlands, with Turenne to oppose him; Eugene had pushed across the Alps into Italy and well up the Po, fighting for every step; in this very campaign he marched from his base to the Rhine, quite as far as the Anglo-Dutch. It is quite inaccurate to call Marlborough's unopposed march an unheard-of enterprise. However successfully the knot of the difficulty may have been cut by Eugene and him at Blenheim, the bald fact is that Marlborough marched to the Danube because, as all the military world knew, he was needed there; but he does not even appear to have had any immediate strategic objective. He was only, like the true soldier he was, marching toward the sound of the guns. In common with the others he saw that the allied cause could be best helped on the Danube, because the French were most seriously threatening this section; and, getting leave from the Dutch, he marched his army into the enemy's country, a thing in which he had a host of predecessors. The idea may indeed not have been originally his. There is on record a letter of Eugene's to him suggesting this very performance, and if the scheme was of Marlborough's own devising, he was not the only one to see its value. In fact, until he had reached the Neckar, Eugene was the duke's only confidant; and it is certain that the campaign was concerted between them long before it opened. It by no means helps Marlborough's splendid reputation to overstate his case. It is because we English-speaking peoples slur over the deeds of all but our own heroes that we are wont to make Marlborough the only general of his day; that one often meets folk who place Wellington as a soldier on a plane above Napoleon; or that many of us ascribe the victory of Waterloo solely to the Iron Duke, forgetful of "Marschal Vorwärts" and his Prussians. All nations suffer from want of perspec-

tive in gauging their own military history; and in writing the biography of a single general it is perhaps impossible not to err; but we Anglo-Saxons are almost the worst offenders. It is not to belittle Marlborough, — his reputation as a soldier is beyond any one's ability to disturb, — it is to be just to his colleagues and contemporaries that so much must be said.

Marlborough, Eugene and Louis personally met in Hep-pach in June — it was the first meeting of the two former — and, after discussion of the situation, it was determined that Marlborough and Louis should operate against the elector of Bavaria and Marsin, while Eugene, to whom Marlborough and Prince Louis sent ten thousand men, with the thirty-seven thousand he would then have, should remain in the Stollhofen lines to contain Tallard, Villeroi and Coigny. There was no difficulty in Eugene and Marlborough agreeing upon plans. They would, in this instance, have liked to operate together and leave Prince Louis on the Rhine; but the latter would not agree to this, and claimed all the rights of a senior in command. He had been a pupil of Montecuculi; he had won battles; he had served at Vienna with Sobieski; and he was high-strung, jealous and hard to please.

The joint forces of Marsin and the elector of Bavaria, who on May 4 joined at Wieblingen, were sixty-three thousand men and one hundred and thirty guns and mortars; and to prevent Marlborough and the prince of Baden from crossing the Danube and marching into Bavaria, they had taken post in June between Lauingen and Dillingen with their back to the river. The forces were about equally matched: the allies had sixty thousand men and forty-eight guns. During Marlborough's march there had been some manœuvring in the Black Forest country, but it resulted in nothing which affected the year's campaign.

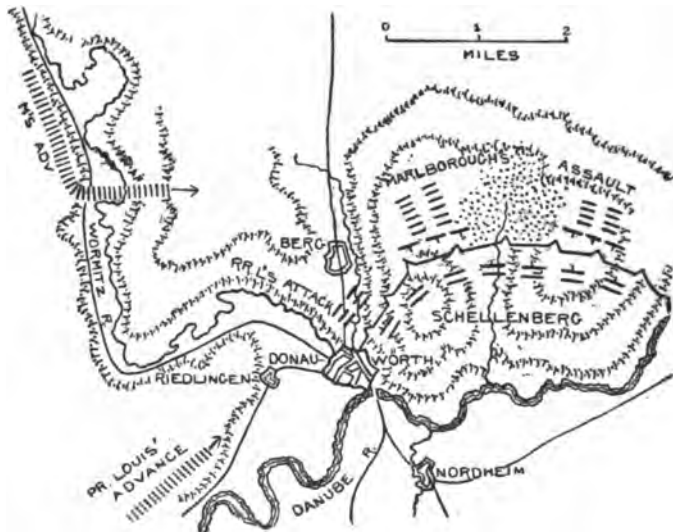
Marlborough and Prince Louis, who, though the latter was

acknowledged to be senior, had resorted to the questionable, but at that day common, device of commanding the whole army on alternate days, proposed indeed to force their way into Bavaria, but they did not try to cross at Ulm, as the enemy expected them to do. They moved up to Giengen on the Brenz, and thence, at the end of June, by a flank march in the presence of the enemy's army, to Donauwörth. The enemy held to his lines, and did not attack them on the march, but allowed them to pass unmolested within a few miles, over bad roads and under marked difficulties. The march of the duke and prince was bold ; but had there been at Lauingen such a man as Turenne, it would have scarcely escaped leading to a battle. To march to Donauwörth was an excellent manœuvre ; to march so near the enemy by the flank was a risk pardonable in those days, but hardly permissible in front of an active enemy. The allies were taking liberties with unenterprising opponents. Not only was the enemy indolent, but the position of the elector and Marsin was thoroughly false. Lauingen was not the place to defend Bavaria with the allies headed for Donauwörth, and even when they awoke to this fact they contented themselves with sending ten thousand men to Count d'Arco, who commanded at Donauwörth, and was expected to head off a force of sixty thousand men well equipped and led, with a fifth the number. Such adversaries promised to be an easy prey.

Donauwörth was not over well fortified, but the Schellenberg, near by, was intrenched, and was joined to the town by lines not quite completed. Within these works lay d'Arco's camp.

No general ever possessed the instinct of fighting to a keener degree than Marlborough ; this instinct at times overrode his judgment, and as he was determined to cross the river at Donauwörth, he had no sooner reached the vicinity

than he undertook an assault on the Schellenberg, to seize the bridge over the Danube, by which alone he could make his way. He was led to do so by the belief that if he delayed d'Arco would strengthen his works so as to make them inexpugnable ; that the French and Bavarians were concentrating opposite to bar his passage ; and by the fact that this was his



Assault on the Schellenberg.

day of command, and that Prince Louis was not of a mind to make the assault.

It was July 2. Marlborough headed a vanguard of ten thousand men, followed closely by the rest of the army. He reached the Wörmitz, a small affluent of the Danube, which flowed past the Schellenberg lines, at three o'clock, crossed the stream above the place, and gave his men, who had been marching since early dawn, two or three hours' rest. Aware from what he could learn of the terrain that the place was very strong, he detailed a picked force from each battalion, which, with thirty squadrons and three regiments of Prince

Louis, made up a column of ten thousand five hundred men. Count d'Arco had some two thousand more.

The Schellenberg lines were old fortifications erected by Gustavus Adolphus, and d'Arco was at work with a large body of countrymen in repairing them. The hill itself is about three hundred feet above the river. Donauwörth was a fortress, but not well kept up nor sufficiently garrisoned; and the force d'Arco sent to hold it was badly stationed and worse led. From the town, which lay in the confluence of the Wörmitz and Danube, the lines which d'Arco was seeking to intrench and hold ran over the hill and back to the Danube. Opposite the centre of the hill lay a thick wood, through which a column could not well advance. After reconnoitring, Marlborough determined to attack on either side of the wood; the assault between the wood and Donauwörth to be made in force. It looks as if he had not sufficiently studied the situation, for he chose the strongest part of the line for the assault, whereas he could more easily have broken through nearer the town, where the half-finished works were barely waist high. Nor was there any greater gain to be had by getting a foothold on the Schellenberg; the town was nearer the bridge Marlborough wanted. But the assaults were delivered by his *corps d'élite* in gallant style. The first one was met with equal courage, was repulsed, and the Bavarians made a sortie with the bayonet, which in its turn was met and broken by an English regiment, which took the enemy in flank. A second assault had no better result. A third failed, and the Bavarians again issued in a bayonet charge from their works, and were only checked by the cavalry. Failure was imminent, and the loss had been fearful. Marlborough had undertaken a desperate task.

But help was at hand. Prince Louis' column now arrived, crossed the Wörmitz near Berg, and fell on the defenses of

d'Arco at the town. With scarcely any opposition he broke through the weak intrenchments, and thus took d'Arco in reverse. Marlborough had for hours been hammering at a spot which he could not break, when close at hand was a weak one he had not heeded. At once recognizing that the position was lost, d'Arco put himself at the head of two French regiments of dragoons, ployed his foot into close columns, cut a path through the Baden troops, and made his way to the bridge at Donauwörth, where he crossed to the south bank of the Danube. Though Marlborough had done all the fighting, Prince Louis arrogated to himself the credit of the victory, as having been first inside the works.

The loss of the allies was six to seven thousand men (fifteen hundred killed and four thousand wounded, say the English authorities); that of the Bavarians only sixteen hundred; but the bold assault, though it seems, as says Lossau, to have been delivered rather prematurely, and was very costly, made such an impression on the elector, who with Marsin still stood at Lauingen, and had acted with unwarrantable lethargy, that he crossed the river, threw the bulk of his Bavarian forces into his fortresses, where they were useless; retired to Augsburg with all Marsin's and five thousand of his own men, and sat down in an intrenched camp.

It may be asserted that this assault was as justifiable as that of Gustavus at the Lech or at the Alte Veste; but in the latter case, the Swede had exhausted every other means to bring his opponent to battle, as an outlet to a situation growing daily more intolerable, while in the former the king, once set on crossing in the face of the enemy, carefully selected his point of attack and actually got the best one. It seems to be agreed by the best Continental critics, and these are all warm admirers of the duke, — as who indeed is not? — that the assault here was a mistake.

Marlborough and Prince Louis crossed the Danube July 5, took Rain, and appeared, July 23, at Augsburg, camping at Friedberg, on the road from Augsburg to Munich. Augsburg was too strong to attack, and no terms could be made with the elector ; but the allies began to devastate Bavaria as a means of detaching him from his alliance with France. This devastation was thorough, and conducted, says Alison, with savage ferocity. Three hundred towns or villages were consumed, a species of vengeance for the devastation of the Palatinate by Turenne. Despite this terrifying havoc the elector stood to his alliance.

Meanwhile Tallard and Villeroi had been idly watching these operations with their fifty-eight thousand men, which Eugene was holding by his presence at Stollhofen ; but Tallard, who had received orders to hurry to Bavaria with some chosen troops to the aid of Marsin and the elector, crossed the Rhine at Strasburg, July 1, with twenty-six thousand men, and marching through the valley of the Danube, reached Augsburg August 5. Villeroi and Coigny, with thirty-two thousand men, remained to confront the Stollhofen lines and protect Tallard's rear. So soon as Prince Eugene became aware of Tallard's march, he grasped the danger to which his allies would be exposed by these reinforcements to an army already outnumbering their own, left twenty-one thousand men under the count of Nassau in Stollhofen, and July 18 marched with sixteen thousand on a parallel line but through more rugged country on the north, to prevent Tallard from doing his colleagues a mischief. He reached Dillingen August 4 ; his speed had been good, but Tallard had started and kept ahead of him ; and as the French commander had much the larger force, Eugene would not have deemed it wise to attack, had he overtaken him. Now that he was so far, however, he determined not to return, but to

reinforce the allies, and marched to Münster, near Donauwörth. Tallard effected his end, and with the elector of Bavaria and Marsin, the army numbered some fifty-seven thousand men, with all the fortresses heavily garrisoned. It was now the manifest duty of the French and Bavarians to attack either Marlborough or Eugene singly; but they hesitated so long as to lose their opportunity. Marlborough and the prince of Baden were not on good terms, and the English general finally induced Louis to undertake the apparently useful but not essential siege of Ingolstadt with fifteen thousand men, while he himself first covered it and then joined Prince Eugene. For the former purpose he marched by Aichach to Schrobenhausen August 5, and thus took post between Ingolstadt and Augsburg.

To draw the allies from Bavaria, the French and the elector adopted the singular plan of themselves moving to the left bank of the Danube, whereas by remaining where they were, they would have kept the allies inactive, or have obliged them to resort to besieging the strong places of the Danube country. They thought, moreover, to threaten Eugene, and to draw Prince Louis from the siege of Ingolstadt. Crossing at Lauingen, August 9, they moved down towards Höchstädt, on hearing of which, and on consultation with Marlborough, Eugene, who had returned to Dillingen, marched to the Schellenberg, while Marlborough moved to Donauwörth. This still secured the siege of Ingolstadt, which was now fully invested. The enemy had been operating on exterior lines, leaving the interior lines to the allies.

Marlborough sent twenty-two battalions and twenty-seven squadrons ahead to Eugene, and next day, August 10, followed in two columns, one crossing the Danube at Nieder-Schönfeld and the other at Rain over the Lech, and then over the Danube at Donauwörth. Eugene on August 11 joined

Marlborough's army. The two had fifty-six thousand men; the enemy perhaps five thousand more. They were now to act as colleagues in daily operations for the first time.

No difficulty ever existed between Marlborough and Eugene as to command. They were men of altogether too big calibre to be jealous of each other's precedence, or to waste time discussing trifles. Whenever they acted together, they commanded each his own army, and the joint forces on alternate days, and never failed to agree as to the advisability of any special operation. It was not a question of either, whose day it was, giving orders to the other; a suggestion sufficed, for the mind of each could grasp the situation and argue correctly with reference to it.

Following is Prince Eugene's estimate of forces, given in a letter dated August 25, 1704, viz.:—

ALLIES.				FRENCH.			
		Battalions. Squadrons.				Battalions. Squadrons.	
Eugene r. w.	Prussians	11	15	Marsin l. w.	French	29	50 18,000
	Danes	7	0		Bavarians	13	37 12,000
	Austrians	0	24			42	87 30,000
	Empire	0	35				
		18	74				
Marlborough c. and l.	English	14	14	Tallard r. and c. French		42	60 30,000
	Dutch	14	22		Total	84	147 60,000
	Hessians	7	7				
	Hanoverians	13	25				
	Danes	0	22				
		48	90				
	Total	68	184 56,000				
Guns 66				Guns 90			

In the above estimate of the allied forces, presumably as correct as any we can find, though there are many others, all varying somewhat from each other, the very small percentage of British troops is striking. We are brought up to believe Blenheim (or Höchstädt) to be an English victory; and it cannot be denied that half the glory of the battle belongs to the English general. But only a fifth of the allied foot was English; less than a sixth of the cavalry. England in this war, as in most other land-wars she has done, fought

with her money-bags and not her men. At sea the case was different. There the British tars always bared their breasts, and fought as Anglo-Saxons have always fought, on land or sea, like heroes. But if, in the battles of Marlborough for instance, we gauge the credit of the English according to the troops they furnished, Blenheim and Malplaquet, Oudenarde and Ramillies, cease to be English victories, — a distinct loss to Greater Britain.

It was here, near Höchstädt, that the rival armies fell into almost accidental battle. Though ready for it, neither army had anticipated a general engagement at any particular time. The French and the elector desired a battle in order to drive the allies out of Bavaria, and it was better that it should occur on the left bank of the Danube than on the right; Marlborough and Eugene were eager to measure arms because they believed that they could beat the enemy and thus release the empire from its difficulties. It was evident that the situation must breed a battle before many days; for the commanders on both sides had determined on fighting.

The two allied generals had early on the 12th ridden out on a reconnoissance, during which they caught sight of the enemy in full march. They withdrew to Tapfheim, and having from the church tower observed the French and Bavarians go into camp, at once returned to headquarters.

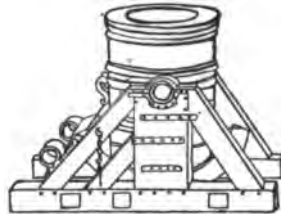
Marsin and Tallard had assumed that the allies were on the way to Nördlingen, to which view some movements of the allied cavalry, according to their reports, contributed. So confirmed was Tallard in this view, indeed, that he mistook the "assembly" blown in the allied camp on the morning of the battle, for the order to march. The Franco-Bavarians had not expected an immediate encounter, nor indeed taken up any distinct order of battle; they had rather camped in order of march, and as each French general as well as the elector

commanded his own forces, they had advanced in three separate bodies. Tallard was on the right; Marsin on his left, and the elector beyond him. The cavalry had been as usual disposed on the flanks of each army, and thus the bulk of the French mounted men, when emerging from camp to form, would occupy the centre of the whole line, separating the infantry wings. This queer order neither suited the ground nor was adapted for battle. In fact, owing to the leaning of the flanks on Lützingen and Blenheim, which were held mainly by foot, the amount of cavalry in the centre during the battle was increased.

Knowing the enemy to be near by in force, the French general had made suitable dispositions. Where the cavalry stood, near the village of Oberklau, the line made a slight salient, so as to include the village in its scheme. In their front, but too far off to be of much good as a defense, though doubtless it would detain the assailants, ran the Nebelbach in a low, deep, marshy bed. Above Oberklau the brook was divided into, or rather fed by, four small streams, making the ground opposite Marsin and the elector much harder to cross than below the village. Tallard's right leaned on the Danube at Blenheim, which village he now occupied with twenty-seven battalions and twelve squadrons of dragoons, — about fifteen thousand men, a detachment which dangerously reduced his force of infantry elsewhere. Marsin had taken possession of Oberklau and Lützingen, and there placed a number of battalions of foot mixed in with the horse. Though the French lay at the top of a gentle, long slope which ran downward to the Nebelbach, yet the position was bad, for the troops did not correspond to the terrain; the several arms were not placed where they could do effective service or sustain each other. Yet one may imagine the French marshals arguing that the ground in the centre was

excellent for cavalry to act upon, as on right and left it was not ; but in that case they needed heavy infantry supports for the horse thus massed. To neglect this point was to invite defeat.

The bulk of the foot was thus in two bodies on the extreme flanks. These were strongly posted, the right in Blenheim and the left at the foot of rugged hills which cavalry and artillery could not cross. But though the left centre was sustained by Oberklau, yet the centre was far too extended, and between Oberklau and Blenheim there stood eighty squadrons of horse and only ten battalions of foot in reserve. The guns were fairly distributed all along the line. To the villages some attention had been paid ; they had not only intrenchments, but the streets were barricaded with carts and the furniture from the houses. Their strength did not, however, help the weakness of the centre against a suitable attack. Nothing but the marshy Nebelbach, no insuperable obstacle, protected it.



French Mortar. (16th Century.)

LVII.

BLenheim. AUGUST 13, 1704.

MARSIN and the elector held the left; Tallard the right. They had formed in line as they marched, so as to throw the bulk of their cavalry in the centre. In the allied army, Eugene stood on the right, Marlborough on the left, each leading his own army. There was absolute good-will and helpfulness between them; though alternating daily in command, they acted together as one man. In their front ran the Nebelbach, which must be crossed, and Tallard had occupied Blenheim in force. The allies attacked. On the left, Marlborough devoted much time to capturing Blenheim, but fruitlessly; on the right, opposed to heavier forces, Eugene struggled hard for victory, but was thrice thrust back. Finally he drove in the elector and Marsin, while Marlborough, giving up his direct assaults on Blenheim, attacked and broke through the French centre of horse and took the village in reverse. Eugene followed up the retiring French; Marlborough captured Tallard in Blenheim. The victory was complete, and decisive in its results. The French fled to France; the Bavarians gave up their alliance with them, and surrendered their fortresses. One victory had done more than several campaigns.

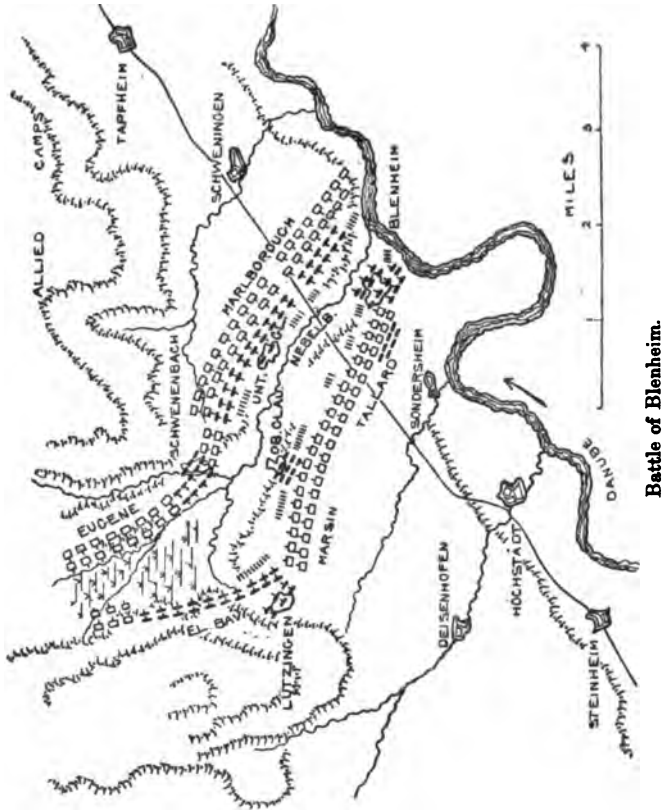
ON returning to camp from their reconnoissance, a council of war was held by the allied commanders, and, though a number of officers voted nay, Marlborough and Eugene both decided on battle. They feared delay, lest the enemy, anticipating their action, should make their field-works stronger; they were themselves suffering for lack of forage; their victual from Nördlingen was not always secure; and Villeroi was rumored to be advancing to reinforce Tallard and Marsin. Moreover, Marlborough had been roundly abused in England for advancing so far from the Netherlands, and he desired to justify his action. The armies lay but three miles apart, the allies encamped on the heights behind Tapfheim, back of the plain which stretched between them and the French. Attack

being decided on, they broke up, August 13, at daylight, and advanced on the enemy in a number of columns. Their movements had been observed by the French, but the advance was deemed a manœuvre to protect a flank march to Nördlingen. That the French generals did not expect a battle that day is shown by the fact that much of their cavalry was out foraging; but this was called in and the order given to prepare for action; the outposts were ordered back from the villages north of the Nebelbach, and these were set on fire to prevent their being used for defense.

Marlborough and Eugene are said to have again reconnoitred, and to have recognized the errors in the enemy's dispositions. By some authorities it is said that the morning was hazy, in which case they can scarcely have learned much beyond satisfying themselves that the enemy had not substantially changed the formation of the day before. But a note by Tallard, penned at the time, states that he could see the allies on the hills, so that the day was probably only overcast. It was at all events first determined between the commanders that Eugene, who held the allied right wing, should make an attack on Marsin to hold his attention as well as that of the elector of Bavaria, while Marlborough should assail Blenheim.

It is generally stated in the accounts of this battle that Marlborough, or Eugene, or both of them, on recognizing the weakness of the enemy's centre, then and there determined to break through at this point and cut the enemy in two. Whatever plan was adopted was a joint one between the allied commanders; and it does not appear from the initial attacks that they had so soon perceived that the centre was the proper place on which to deliver the vital blow. If it is true that they did so, then Marlborough's early expenditure of force on Blenheim was an error, and not in accordance with

the plan adopted. To carry out the idea of breaking the centre, only partial attacks on Blenheim and opposite Lützingen should have been made, stout enough to hold the enemy from reinforcing the centre from these places, but no



more. The action taken by Marlborough does not warrant the belief that the generals founded their initial plan for the battle on the enemy's weak centre.

The bulk of Tallard's foot was thus engaged in defending Blenheim, which he, as well as Marlborough, at first deemed the key of the battle-field. From Blenheim to Oberklau

there was nothing but horse. Oberklau had nearly thirty battalions in and about it; then came some Bavarian and French cavalry, and then eighteen battalions of foot thrown forward of Lützingen in a crotchet along the foot of the hills. Tallard had but ten battalions to sustain his cavalry. Marsin and the elector had a second line in which foot stood behind foot and horse behind horse. Batteries lay all along the line, judiciously disposed.

In Eugene's front the ground was exceptionally difficult, and it was high noon before he was able to make it practicable by filling up the worst places with fascines and logs, or boards from the houses in Schwenenbach; but being covered by undergrowth, he had been able to push his skirmishers over unobserved; whereupon he sent word to Marlborough that he was ready to cross. The batteries of both armies had been steadily at work ever since eight o'clock, with quite marked effect; the engineers had been meanwhile engaged in bridging the Nebelbach in several places in front of the left; Marlborough gave his orders to his wing, and the attack began. The duke's wing was in four lines, two of infantry, and two of cavalry between them; it was intended that the footmen of the first lines should push over the brook and take such position as to enable the horse under their cover to get across and form, — the two rear lines to remain in reserve. On the extreme left was a heavy column of the three arms under Lord Cutts, ready to be launched against Blenheim.

This column was first across the Nebelbach; it is stated to have been sent to the attack by eleven; Coxe says one. Eugene was not fairly across until half-past twelve, owing to the bad ground and the opposition of the enemy's light troops, but the crossing was finally accomplished under cover of the guns. The French batteries had been so well

served that a loss of at least two thousand men is said to have been inflicted on the allies before they came to close quarters. Though the ground he had to cross was not only marshy but cut up by bushes so as to break up the alignment of his men in their advance, Eugene made his attack in good heart, and on his first assault took a battery of six guns; but when he had broken Marsin's first line, the second charged in on his own, broke it, and drove it back across the first brook. He suffered seriously from lack of sufficient infantry, and the guns from Oberklau could enfilade his line. A second charge by the horse was driven back by the elector; and a third one was rather weakly delivered by the tired troops, though headed by Eugene in person. It became evident to the prince that he had too heavy a force against him. He was, in fact, with a third of the allied numbers, and nearly all cavalry at that, facing half the enemy, and on the worst possible ground. Nor indeed, save the Prussians, did his cavalry behave as it should. The prince was called on to shoot down numerous runaways; the material was far less good than that of Marlborough. That Eugene kept them at their work, however, the fearful list of casualties abundantly testifies. Nothing daunted, notwithstanding backsets and poor response to his exertions, he so ably utilized his squadrons, both afoot and in the saddle, that neither Marsin nor the elector sent any reinforcements to the centre.

While the prince was preparing and pushing his attack, Marlborough had got over the troops on his extreme left, and these had fallen on the village of Blenheim in six heavy lines. Lord Cutts assaulted in gallant form, but he was violently thrown back; successive bodies of troops were sent on to aid in the attacks, but no impression whatsoever was made. General Clérambault, with the infantry in Blenheim, held his own with ease; and the French horse, breaking out on the

allied columns with much effect, drove them back across the brook, and it was with difficulty, though the assaults were renewed again and again with brilliant courage, that the allies held their ground at all in front of the place. No lodgment was made in Blenheim. Meanwhile the forces of the allied centre had been preparing to push their way across the Nebelbach.

It was a sad mistake that Tallard, during this time, did not make a counter attack. Had he done so, Marlborough might have been unable to get his men into line. But the French contented themselves with cannonading from the front, and enfilading the allied centre with the batteries of Blenheim and Oberklau.

Finally, Marlborough became convinced that he could not take Blenheim, and having debouched from Unterklau and pushed his first two lines of the centre under Churchill across the Nebelbach, though much hampered by a serious flank attack from Oberklau, he finally drew up his cavalry in front, and his foot behind, with intervals through which the cavalry, if thrown back, could retire, and delivered an impetuous assault. It was already five o'clock. From four to six hours had been wasted on Blenheim; no gain had been made, and Eugene had been struggling against heavy odds ever since half-past twelve. But once started, the left wing cavalry rode at the French line in close ranks with good effect; and though in its turn several times repulsed, on each occasion the pursuing French squadrons came upon the infantry line in the rear, and were severely handled by the salvos of musketry. They had not enough foot in the centre to follow up and hold what gain they might make. Finally, the French horse and the ten supporting battalions of foot gave way; Marlborough seized on the propitious moment with the keen eye of the battle-captain; one more charge, and

the enemy broke and retired in great confusion. "Le gros de la cavallerie a fait *mal*, je dis très *mal*," wrote Tallard in his official report. Still they had held their own gallantly; they were simply ill-placed. Part were cut down, part captured, part pursued to Höchstädt; Marlborough now turned on the fifteen thousand men in Blenheim, and after hard fighting, surrounded and captured the entire body, including Marshal Tallard, who from the centre was seeking to join the Blenheim force.

While Marlborough was thus earning a difficult success on the left, and before he had actually broken the centre, Prince Eugene, though thrice repulsed, had, after collecting and resting his men, a fourth time led an attack on Marsin's and the elector's front and left flank; and this time successfully, driving the enemy well back beyond Lützingen. His task had been the harder one. It was at the time Marlborough ruptured Tallard's centre and captured that marshal, of which fact the news spread rapidly, that Eugene broke down Marsin's resistance, and when Marlborough had definitely thrust back the French cavalry, the elector and Marsin were in full retreat.

Tallard had committed a grave mistake in cooping up so much of his infantry in Blenheim, and leaving nothing but cavalry to oppose to Marlborough's centre. The latter made a lesser mistake in giving so much of his attention to the capture of Blenheim. He may have been somewhat delayed by bridging the Nebelbach; but not much beyond noon. It was only at five o'clock, when he threw up his attempts there and devoted himself to breaking through the cavalry-centre of the enemy, that he contributed his best efforts to the victory. Had Marsin and the elector had opposite to them a less strong opponent than Eugene, they would have certainly detached some of their forty-two bat-

talions to aid the centre, with what result it is hard to say. And in the later phases of the fight, had Marlborough left a smaller force to engage the Blenheim body, and turned with his bulk against Marsin's naked right flank, the latter would have been annihilated, and Blenheim would have fallen later. As it was, Marsin made good his escape. But when Marlborough had made up his mind to break the centre of the French army, he put his whole soul into the work, and won.

The French, out of sixty thousand, lost thirty thousand men, of whom fifteen thousand were prisoners, two hundred flags, fifty guns and all their baggage. The allies lost over eleven thousand men, — forty-four hundred killed, seventy-three hundred wounded. Eugene pursued Marsin some distance; Marlborough, busy with Blenheim, attempted no tactical pursuit. The allies, according to the questionable custom of that time, remained five days on the battle-field. Strategic pursuit, unusual then in any event, was delayed by the allies because bread and forage had partially failed them.

The French, with the thirty thousand men they had left, crossed the Danube at Lauingen, left fifteen battalions in Ulm, gathered in the garrisons of Augsburg and other places, and leaving Bavaria to her fate, fled along the Danube valley to the Rhine, crossed that river, August 31 to September 2, at Strasburg, joined the twenty thousand men of Villeroi and the ten thousand of Coigny, and thus made up again an array of sixty thousand men for the defense of France.

The troops besieging Ingolstadt were withdrawn and part of them put at the siege of Ulm, which surrendered September 11 with two hundred and fifty guns and twelve hundred barrels of powder.

The victory of Blenheim, won in consequence of the errors of the French, had immense results. After taking Ulm, the

allies marched to Philipsburg, crossed with sixty-five thousand men, captured Trarbach on the Moselle, and besieged Landau. Marlborough and Eugene were anxious for another battle; but Prince Louis would not agree to it, and insisted on a war of sieges. The French had recovered equality in force, but had lost all morale; the allies were allowed to take Landau and Trier; and only winter put an end to their successes. The Bavarians made a treaty in November, by which their fortresses were surrendered, and the Bavarian garrisons discharged.

This campaign, thanks to these two great leaders, showed again the superiority of concentration and battle over detailed operations and sieges. Forces had been concentrated in an important territory, and the result of a victory had been decisive. Even before the battle, the assault on the position at the Schellenberg, though delivered with too little deliberation, had won marked moral results, and all his fortresses did not save the elector of Bavaria: after one real victory, even without pursuit, they succumbed. On the other hand, the Stollhofen lines were of no use whatever to the allies. Despite them, or because of them, Tallard first sent part of his troops to Marsin and then marched to Bavaria.

We must allow Eugene a full half of the credit for this memorable victory. From his earliest day he was unquestionably as much a fighter as the duke, he conducted more campaigns and won more victories. There prevails among us Anglo-Saxons an impression that Marlborough was the one who urged on to battle, as he is often assumed if not asserted to have been the chief in command. All this is quite unwarranted. As the responsibility was equal, so must be the credit for the victory. Not that English historians fail to praise Eugene; some, as Coxe, are honest eulogists of the prince; but by implication he is treated as if he had been

Marlborough's lieutenant and not his equal in command; every strategic march is ascribed to the Briton, every tactical manœuvre posted to his credit; and the inference drawn by the average reader is necessarily wrong. To some historians there was only one directing influence in this war, and that Marlborough's; the existence, in success, of any other force is ignored. In failure, of course, the Dutch deputies are omnipotent.

No criticism can belittle Marlborough's splendid conduct on this field; nor, on the other hand, must we rob Eugene of one of his laurels. On the allied right, with twenty thousand men, of which only a small part was foot, the gallant prince had defeated Marsin and the elector with thirty thousand men, on ground worse adapted for attack than that opposite Marlborough, and especially bad for cavalry. Had Eugene not contained nearly half the enemy, Marlborough would scarcely have been able to break the centre, for this would assuredly have been reinforced from the heavy masses of foot under Marsin and the elector. As it was, when Tallard appealed to Marsin for aid, the latter replied that he was himself too hard beset. That Eugene's fighting was of the hottest is shown by the fact that out of his twenty thousand men he lost six thousand, — nearly a third, while out of thirty-six thousand men Marlborough lost but five thousand, — only a seventh. And as Eugene's force was mostly cavalry, which cannot as a rule be put over such bad ground or into such close contact, and rarely loses as heavily as foot, this is all the more a tribute to the prince's exceptional vigor and determination.

As children we have been taught from our schooldays up to look to Marlborough rather than to Eugene for the success of Blenheim, and it is hard to eradicate the feeling. But when we weigh the part of each, from the moment that saw

Eugene without waiting for authority from any source march out of the Stollhofen lines to follow Tallard, — a brilliant inspiration that lay at the very root of success, — to his last moment of pursuit of the flying French; the part which Eugene bore against greater difficulties on the allied right, so as to enable Marlborough to succeed on the left and centre; when we remember Zenta, Turin and Belgrade, and the whole military life of the wonderful imperial marshal, we must cheerfully allow him full half the credit for this great and decisive victory.

Let us lay our tribute equally at the feet of both. Following in the footsteps of Gustavus, they inaugurated the era of great battles and of battle-tactics. Blenheim, though the tactical combinations were by no means perfect, was a worthy successor of Breitenfeld and Lützen; was one of those object-lessons in war which teach even the obstinate; and which here showed the world that intrenched lines, fortresses heavily garrisoned, and other defensive devices are as nothing compared to offensive energy and skill on the battle-field. As the modern art of war is distinctly dependent on manœuvres leading up to battle, so we owe to Marlborough and Eugene, as successors of Gustavus and predecessors of Frederick, a debt for their grand conception of the value of fighting over mere manœuvring.

Nor is this said in forgetfulness of the battles delivered and won by Turenne and by Condé. It was such men as all these who first saw the error of carrying the theory of fortified lines too far, and who prepared the way for Frederick and Napoleon to make perfect; and it may well be said that the two last captains would scarcely have risen to the height they reached but for these same predecessors in the art of war.

With Marlborough's splendid diplomatic services during

the War of the Succession this history has nothing to do; it is only as a captain that he is gauged. But even in diplomacy, the accomplishment of Eugene may well be placed beside his colleague's.

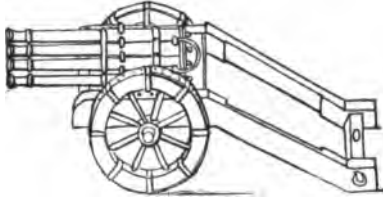
We are often told about the untutored soldier, whose keen military instinct, power to divine the intentions of the enemy, and courage of his convictions make him superior to the book-worm who is full of military saws and warlike instances; and Marlborough has been held up as a sample of the uneducated general. Such, to begin with, is not the fact; Marlborough had received the best practical education of the day under its greatest leaders; and history moreover shows us that the great captains of the world have been men to whom a generous providence gave the one quality, and whose own industry and intelligence have made good use of the other. No one doubts the superiority of the gifted unread man over the highly educated weakling; but Alexander, Hannibal, Gustavus, Frederick and Napoleon were all born soldiers, deep-read and trained to arms as well. Cæsar is perhaps the exception that proves the rule; and yet he got a fair military education in the Spanish peninsula, and the best one in the world in Gaul; and who knows how much he had studied the military works and generals preceding his day? It is probable that he had Arrian and Xenophon and Polybius by heart. Had he not indeed taken all learning to be his province? It might be claimed because Frederick hated war, that he was an unread soldier; but who except he unearthed and profited by Epaminondas' matchless oblique order, which had lain buried for two thousand years? The same thing applies to all captains of the second rank: Miltiades, Epaminondas, Hasdrubal, Pyrrhus, the consul Nero, Scipio, Sertorius, Turenne, Eugene, Marlborough, Wellington, Lee, Moltke, — all were men who were educated to war, and who

had read military history. A man need not become a book-worm to assimilate the lessons of history ; and the keen perceptions of a Marlborough in the field would soon make the lessons of a Turenne his own, and better on them, if it were possible, in his own campaigns. It is true that to reduce war to a science of diagrams and nothing more does not make a soldier ; but given equal intellect, character and opportunity, it is certain that, of any two men, the one who has faithfully studied what his predecessors in the art of war have done will be by far the better. All great captains have profited by reading and study ; most of them have been keen students of the deeds of the great men before them ; and if there has been one who has become truly great without such study and training, I have failed to find him in history. I do not refer to mere conquerors ; I speak of great captains whose work has instructed mankind in the art of war.

It is possible that the present estimate of Marlborough, the placing him on a lower level than Gustavus, on the same level with Turenne and Eugene, may evoke a protest in Greater Britain. But it remains no less the true estimate. *Cuidem in sua arte crede experto* ; and no doubt those who have best made war are the safest critics of war. No one will be found to deny that, naval war apart, the Continental nations have, in the past two generations, outstripped the English in capacity for the military art ; their critics will be found the safest ones to follow ; and an examination of the best critical work of all the Continental nations will sustain the views herein expressed.

To quote Kausler with reference to this campaign, than whom there is no more honest panegyrist of Marlborough : " If we subject the conduct of the several commanding generals to a critical examination, it appears that only Eugene stands forth fault free."

As has always been and is to-day usual with the English, — as is in fact proper, — the most extravagant rewards and honors were heaped upon Marlborough. Prince Eugene, who had borne his full share in the campaign and in the battle, and whose master the emperor had gained more than Queen Anne, for his country was saved from the brink of ruin, won nothing but the additional fame which posterity awards him.



Four-Barreled Gun. (16th Century.)

LVIII.

EUGENE AND VENDOME. 1705.

IN 1705 Vendome and Eugene manœuvred in Italy. Stahremberg and the duke of Savoy had been pushed up into a corner of Piedmont. The campaign here was one of the old-fashioned kind, in which Vendome on the defensive rather outmanœuvred the prince, and held head to him in a battle at Cassano. The operations were between the Oglio and Adda, and both armies early retired into winter-quarters. In the Netherlands the campaign was equally fruitless, and consisted merely of secondary operations. Marlborough was hampered by lack of men and money; and the year was frittered away on work which is scarcely worth the recital except to show what the old method was, out of which able generals were gradually but only slowly working. Marlborough sought to open the campaign on the Moselle; but the French seized the initiative in the Netherlands, and obliged the duke to return to protect Holland. The plan that had been made for an invasion of France ended in only protecting Holland from invasion.

AFTER the serious defeat of 1704, Louis XIV. determined to operate defensively next year. To Villeroy was given the duty of defending Brabant; to Marsin was intrusted the Rhine, to Villars the Saar and Moselle; while Vendome was instructed finally to reduce the duke of Savoy, who in the last campaign had lost Susa, Pignerol, Aosta, Bardo, Vercelli and Ivrea, and now stood on the brink of ruin.

In 1705, in Italy, Vendome and Eugene were consequently once more opposed to each other. Field-Marshal Stahremberg and the duke of Savoy were in a bad situation; Vendome had already reduced the northwestern part of Piedmont and Savoy, and soon after captured the fortress of Verona, which enabled him to control the line of the Adige. Some seventy-seven thousand French troops were in Italy, of which Ven-

dome commanded twenty-two thousand in Piedmont, where he had just captured Verona; his brother, with fifteen thousand in the Brescia country, faced the imperialists, who with eight thousand had retired to the west shore of Lake Garda; La Feuillade held the Nizza country with eleven thousand; Laparace with five thousand was besieging Mirandola, and twenty-four thousand men were in fortresses. To oppose this extensive but in the highest degree ill-disposed array, Stahremberg and Savoy had only sixteen thousand men. Prince Eugene was given twenty-eight thousand men and ordered to Piedmont to their relief. The odds were decidedly against him; and he had indeed found much difficulty in procuring this many troops from the short-sighted Vienna ministers.

When Eugene arrived, via Triente, at Roveredo, he moved down the Adige and attempted to cross the upper Mincio, intending to relieve Mirandola; but checked at this river by the French, and hearing that Vendome was approaching the scene, he put part of his army across the lake in boats to the west bank, sent the others around the north shore, and at the end of May took up a strong position between Salo and Gavardo. Hoping to neutralize the prince, Vendome fortified a position in his front, hemmed him in between the mountains and the lake, where he was cut off from foraging in the open country, left the younger Vendome to hold him there, and returned to Piedmont, where, by drawing in some of his scattered forces, he soon captured the last outstanding fortresses of Nizza, Villafranca and Chivasso, and drove the duke of Savoy back to Turin in sore distress.

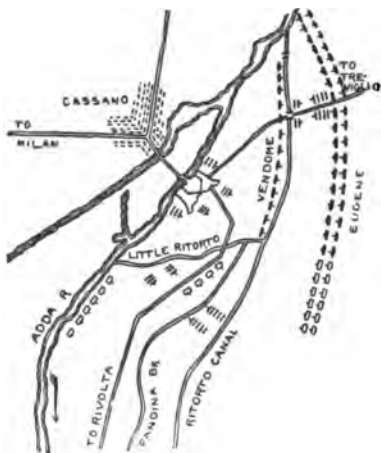
Eugene remained a month in his position, waiting for essential reinforcements from Austria. This was not brilliant conduct, but in front of such numbers it was safe. The desperate situation of the duke finally constraining him to attempt a march to his relief, he threw up his communica-

tions with the Tyrol, turned Vendome's position by the left, marched in the night of June 22 through the mountains via Nave to Brescia, where he anticipated young Vendome by a number of hours, and pushing on, crossed the Oglio at Calcio June 27 in the face of opposition. The French general did not attack him on the march, but moved on a parallel line to the south of him, via Montechiaro and Manerbio, himself crossed the Oglio at Pontevico, and took up a position against him between Crema and Lodi. Eugene took Soncino, but only moved as far as Romanengo. Alarmed at this sudden progress, the duke of Vendome left Piedmont for the moment, came up to join his brother, at once recrossed the Serio, and drew up opposite Eugene near Casal Moraro. Both generals began to manœuvre, Eugene to reach Piedmont, Vendome to prevent his so doing. The former tried several operations, but none proved successful; he could better perhaps have accomplished his object by a battle. He had on the spot an army fully as large as those under the duke and the younger Vendome; but the enemy lay across his path, and, fearing the depletion of even victory, he preferred manœuvre to battle, and sought to steal a passage of the Adda, either up or down the river, to join the duke of Savoy with forces intact.

He first moved by a cautious night march on August 10 to Paradiso on the upper Adda, thinking, if Vendome did not follow him, to find a passage to Piedmont that way. But Vendome knew Eugene's shrewd ways, and discovering his absence next day, made speed to follow. Leaving his brother with thirteen thousand men on the left bank at Cassano, where there was a bridge protected by a strong bridge-head and the Ritorto canal, he crossed to the right bank of the Adda, on the Lodi bridge, with nine thousand, and marched up river, where he attempted by fortifying the banks to fore-

stall a passage by the imperialists. An accident to his pontoon train delayed Eugene, and before he could cross, Vendome had put in an appearance. Eugene then, on August 17, stole another march back to Cassano, hoping to catch young Vendome at that place and beat him; but with the idea that Eugene would march to Cremona, the latter had been ordered by the duke farther down the left bank to Rivolta, his rear-guard only being left in the Cassano bridge-head. Prince

Eugene was about to attack, when Vendome, fearing just this contingency, returned from the upper Adda, and resumed his position in those defenses.



Battle of Cassano.

Eugene had now tried schemes for stealing a passage of the Adda above and below the French; he had failed in his every device, and was confronted with the question whether he should force a passage or not. His activity had kept

the French commander in his front, and had relieved the duke of Savoy to this extent, for Vendome's lieutenants at Turin were not able. But the prince was constantly urged by the emperor to reach and release the duke from his predicament; Vendome had a scant ten thousand men in his front, though in an exceptionally strong position behind the Ritorto canal, while he himself had some twenty-four thousand; young Vendome was in Rivolta, and with his hyper-indolent character, was scarcely apt to come up in season to aid his brother; if Eugene attacked and could not force Cassano, he would

not be compromised ; and if he won, he would gain much. He decided on attack.

Cassano lay behind the Adda, over which the bridge had a strong bridge-head. In its front was the Ritorto canal, with a branch running back to the river. Vendome was in a species of fortress, with a wet ditch twenty odd feet wide and four or five feet deep. A stone bridge crossed the canal on the Treviglio road, and was stoutly held by the French. Eugene first sent a column against this bridge under Count Leiningen, who with a gallant rush seized it, crossed, and was forming line on the other side, when heavy reinforcements came up and he was hustled back. Returning boldly to his work, after a short rest, Leiningen again took the bridge, aided by parties who waded the canal up to their necks in water ; but at the critical moment he was killed, and the assault again came to naught. Meanwhile all along the line, at close range, the rival battalions were pouring a deadly fire into each other's ranks. Eugene now determined to have the bridge at any cost. Heading a column of troops gathered from the right, he led them against it in person, carried it, and drove the French well back into the bridge-head. In and near by this the French made a stand. A sort of wagon-burg had been erected in its front, and the fighting was tenacious to the last degree, for if Eugene won, he would drive the French into the Adda. After a long and desperate contest numbers prevailed, and the wagon-burg was taken. Vendome came in person to the rescue, but Eugene, still in the thick of the fray, drove the French back into the bridge-head. One more effort and the battle would be won. Inspired by the tremendous fire of their gallant chieftain, the imperialists followed him over the breastworks, and the garrison began to fall back, hundreds throwing themselves into the river. But again Vendome came up and stemmed the tide, as Eugene reached the inner

works of the bridge-head, and again Eugene rallied his men and pressed on. The two commanders were almost face to face. The French left wing was cut off; Vendome was on the point of retiring, when, in quick succession, Eugene received a ball in the neck and another in the knee, which obliged him to go back to the surgeons. General Bibra took his place; but the effort had exhausted itself, and, in the absence of Eugene, the French crowded the imperialists back to the stone bridge. This, however, Bibra held.

Meanwhile Eugene's Prussian troops had made a gallant but ineffectual attack on the French right; but in wading the canal their ammunition was wetted, and they had only their bayonets to rely on. With the wounding of Eugene all chance of success against Vendome had gone. The imperialists, after a four hours' battle, retired to camp. Vendome kept the battle-field.

The casualties were heavy. Eugene lost two thousand killed and two thousand one hundred wounded. The French, who had been subjected to the close-range fire of superior numbers, are said to have lost many more, — estimates went as high as six thousand killed and four thousand wounded, a sum equal to Vendome's entire force. Perhaps two thousand five hundred killed and three thousand wounded would be a fair guess. The loss in officers of rank was terrible; few escaped being disabled.

Both sides claimed the victory, and *Te Deums* were sung in Paris, Vienna and Turin. But Vendome had countered his adversary's blow.

Eugene retired to Treviglio August 17 and intrenched a camp. Vendome joined his brother at Rivolta. The latter had had a chance to distinguish himself on this occasion by falling on the Austrian flank and rear from Rivolta; but as he did not do so, — though the messenger dispatched to him

with orders to this effect was captured, — Vendome deprived him of command.

For two months both armies, now about equal in numbers, faced each other between the Adda and the Serio. Eugene was still waiting for reinforcements from the Tyrol, and Vendome closely watched him. Both indulged in an active small war. Finally, October 10, Eugene undertook a secret flank march by the lower Serio via Crema around Vendome's right, to try thus to break through to Piedmont, or, if not this, to cut the French off from, and himself secure better winter-quarters near, Cremona. But the rains delayed his bridge-throwing at Montadine so many hours that Vendome forestalled him by marching rapidly via Lodi and Pizzighetone, where were bridges and good roads, took post opposite the prince, and beat back his attempted passage of the river with considerable loss. Both armies then marched upstream on either bank of the Serio, and the prince, the river having fallen, finally succeeded in stealing a passage over a ford near by, and took up a position at Fontenella. Vendome sat down opposite him, and captured Soncino with its imperial garrison. Finally Eugene, seeing that he could not succeed in joining the duke of Savoy, gave up the idea of doing more this year, and at the beginning of November retired by a rapid secret march across the Oglio to Chiari, and a few days later started for Castiglione, intending to seek winter-quarters near Mantua. But Vendome again anticipated him by a parallel march to his right, and by occupying the heights south of Lonato, thus cutting him off from the Mantua country, and forcing him to seek winter-quarters on the west shore of Lake Garda. Vendome himself went into cantonments in the Mantua country; Eugene, between Salo and Monte Chiaro. Leaving Count Reventlau in command, the prince returned to Vienna in January.

Vendome had acted with consummate ability, quickness and decision. This campaign redounds much to his credit. He largely outnumbered Prince Eugene, his total in Italy being seventy-seven thousand men to his opponent's thirty-two thousand; but he checkmated the imperial general in all attempts to reach Piedmont, and fought him with smaller forces. At the same time Eugene had done well for the duke of Savoy. He had kept Vendome so busy that he could not besiege Turin; and while he had not been able to join his ally, he had accomplished the spirit of his task if not the letter.

This campaign — except at Cassano — was conducted according to the old fashion, by manœuvring instead of fighting, and, on the French side, by holding and besieging fortresses. Vendome could have placed sixty thousand men in the field, with this force have annihilated Eugene's army, or have crippled it for the campaign, and then, turning on the duke in Turin, he would scarcely have needed to besiege the place. Or, indeed, he might have captured Turin before Eugene reached the field. But the old idea still held men fast, and out of seventy-seven thousand men, Vendome opposed the prince in the field with but twenty-two thousand, the rest being planted all over Italy in fortresses. Not only that, but he again divided his force into two parts, one on either side of the Adda. Eugene was not fortunate in his efforts to take advantage of this opening, but his forces were always well concentrated, and he kept them actively employed. Vendome's were not so well in hand, but he displayed exceptional rapidity and energy. Had he concentrated his forces for a single hearty blow, he might have saved Italy to the French arms.

It has been said that, as the opening move, Eugene chose a roundabout and difficult road into Italy, via Trieste and the

Adige, in lieu of the road up the Inn and down the Adda, which was the nearer route to join the duke; that after he had taken Soncino, he remained at Romanengo instead of crossing the Adda; that he kept quiet, a month at Gavardo and two at Treviglio, while the duke of Savoy was in utmost need. That Eugene weighed the advantages of both routes across the Alps can scarcely be doubted, though we are not told why he did not march by the Inn-Adda; and the delays mentioned are not only explained by the attendant circumstances, but during these weeks Eugene never ceased from an active small war. Of all the generals of this era, Eugene was the one who least often, from whatever cause, sat down to inactivity. His constant push, in great and little operations, was unequaled. The thing this year which is most noteworthy in Eugene's manœuvres is that he did not blindly cling to his communications with Germany, but gave them up and relied on the country, when it became desirable. And it is particularly to be noted that it was he who constantly retained the initiative and dictated the manœuvres. Vendôme was following his lead at all times.

As is usual after a brilliant success, the English made no great effort for 1705, either in men or money. Only forty thousand men were authorized, not so much as England's share of men to be furnished. At the opening of the year was the time to follow up the fruits of Blenheim; but neither London, La Hague nor Vienna seemed to see the wisdom of making a strenuous effort to improve the occasion; whereas Louis did all that in him lay to retrieve himself.

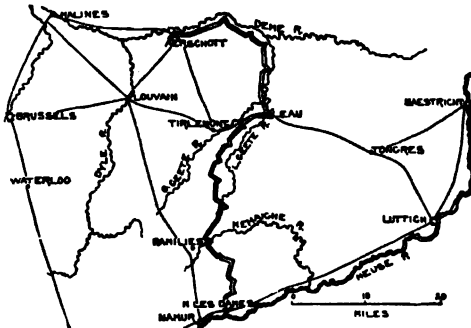
Marlborough and Eugene jointly drew up a plan for 1705, and proposed to the allies early to concentrate on the Moselle their main force, which should reach ninety thousand men, capture Diedenhofen, Saarlouis and Metz, and invade France through the Duchy of Lorraine, Trier and Trarbach having

already been taken and garrisoned. Marlborough's column should march up the Moselle, the prince of Baden up the Saar; Alsace would thus be taken in reverse, and the French would be thrown into a defensive attitude. In half-pursuance to this advice, but with a slowness which argued ill for the campaign, the allies began to assemble sixty thousand men on the Moselle, and to place thirty thousand each on the Meuse and the Scheldt. Louis XIV. on his side determined to act defensively in the Netherlands, to put thirty-two thousand men under Villeroi at Maestricht, to which number the army of the elector of Bavaria would be added later; to send Villars with forty-six thousand men to the Moselle; to intrust Alsatia to Marsin with twenty-six thousand; and to garrison all the Flanders towns. Despite these enormous forces, which presaged a conflict of the giants, the campaign was one of manœuvring only, and without any worthy result. Marlborough purposed to hold the French from activity in the Netherlands by his operations on the Moselle; but they were speedier than he was and took the initiative from him.

The allies concentrated so slowly that Villars was able to cover Diedenhofen and Metz by taking up an admirable position above Sierck on the right bank of the Moselle, sustained by Saarlouis, Metz and Luxemburg in a circle in the rear. Marlborough reached the vicinity of Sierck at midsummer, long before the prince of Baden was ready to join him; but as men and material were both lacking, he was able to accomplish nothing; the invasion scheme quite failed; and Marlborough was suddenly forced to return to the Netherlands, where Villeroi and the elector had captured Huy by assault, and had occupied the town and besieged the citadel of Lüttich. So far from being able to carry the war into France, he was himself threatened with an invasion of the country he was held to defend. Under these annoying con-

ditions, Marlborough could well understand why other generals sometimes failed in their efforts. He was certainly not to blame for the lack of support given him; but it was on this same rock that so many of the allied generals had been wrecked.

Marlborough broke up and headed for Maëstricht, crossing the Meuse at Visé. Upon his approach the French retired from Lüttich, and Marlborough joined Overkirk, who had been in Villeroi's front and had re-captured Huy. But in his absence from the Moselle things went quite amiss. Villars sent Villeroi twenty-three thousand men from his own command, left



The Line of the Dyle.

nine thousand men on the Moselle to oppose the prince of Baden, who later arrived there with nineteen thousand, headed twenty-seven thousand men and captured Trier from the forces left there by Marlborough, and marched to the middle Rhine to join Marsin. All the advantage hoped from the proposed plan had vanished into thin air, and the Anglo-Dutch were put on the defensive.

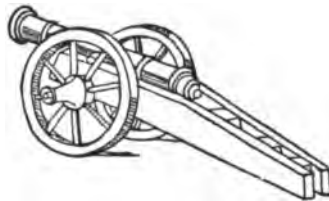
When Villeroi knew that Marlborough was coming, he withdrew to the sources of the Méhaigne into fortified lines, which was, according to the ideas of the day, a profitable thing to do. These lines were, however, altogether too long to be safe. The right rested on the Meuse at Marché les Dames, ran north to the upper Méhaigne, thence along the Geete to Léau, and on to Aerschott back of the Demer.

Villeroi had force enough to conduct extensive operations, but not enough to keep intact so long a line, however skillfully he might hold it.

Marlbrough had sixty thousand men, but it was only after great difficulty that he persuaded the Dutch to agree to any active measures. Villeroi had fortified every obstacle, and, curiously, intrenched lines were supposed to be hard to break through; but Marlborough went intelligently at it. In order to weaken Villeroi's centre, he demonstrated in force towards the right of his line, which leaned on the Méhaigne, and persuaded the French general to draw from the other points a large body to reinforce it; having accomplished which, on the night of July 17 Marlborough made a forced march with his choice troops to the vicinity of Léau, and here, at early dawn, broke through the depleted French lines by a massed attack pushed home, with slight opposition or loss. Seeing that his intrenched line was no longer tenable, Villeroi fell back behind the Dyle with his left on Louvain. This was a fresh proof of the uselessness of such positions; but they remained a favorite defensive scheme for many decades more.

After much opposition by the Dutch deputies, Marlborough made another attempt to force the Dyle; but the Dutch troops refused to do their part, and the project, though happily initiated, proved a complete failure. Later in mid-August, Marlborough turned the Dyle position by its headwaters and forced the French back towards Brussels, thus cutting them off from the direct road to France. On August 18 there was a skirmish at Waterloo; Marlborough made preparations to attack the French; they facing as Wellington did in 1815, and he facing north, in exactly reversed positions. But again, when everything was ready for attack, the Dutch deputies interposed their veto, and by the next day the French had made their position too strong to be assaulted by even

the hero of the Schellenberg. Forced to retire, Marlborough took Léau and Santvliet, and leveled the lines of the Geete. This campaign must be pronounced a failure. Though it is true that the duke was not to blame for his lack of support and had many things to contend against, yet these are the same conditions which neutralized the best efforts of many another general of his era. And though, as is so often asserted, it is true that Marlborough never lost a battle or failed to take a place he laid siege to, it is also true that, from one or other cause, he conducted as many barren campaigns as any of the other generals whom we place in the same rank with himself. But this year bore one good fruit: the ill-success of the Flanders campaign had the effect of stimulating the allies to proper exertions, and in 1706 Marlborough could take the field with a suitable equipment of men and money.



Culverin. (16th Century.)

LIX.

RAMILLIES. MAY 23, 1706.

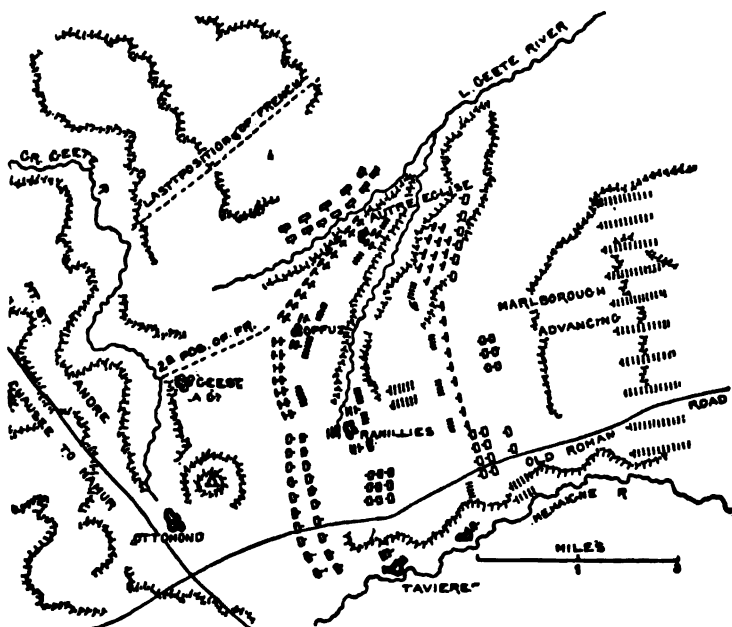
IN 1706 Villeroi with sixty-two thousand men lay at Tirlemont. Marlborough concentrated his sixty thousand allies near Maestricht, and marched on Namur. Villeroi moved by his right and met him at Ramillies, May 23, drawn up on high ground. Marlborough, always ready for battle, made an able feint on the French left, to meet which Villeroi transferred much of his force to that flank; upon which Marlborough attacked the French right with great determination, and though forced back more than once, by bringing all his available forces to bear, broke in the enemy's defense and drove him from the field. The effect of this magnificent victory was immense. Nearly all the Austrian Netherlands fell to the allies. Ramillies saved Holland. Villeroi was replaced by Vendome.

IN 1706 Louis XIV. put three hundred thousand men into the field, and proposed to act offensively. Turin and Barcelona were to be vigorously besieged, and the French generals in Flanders and Italy were given fighting orders. Villeroi, with the elector of Bavaria, was to command in the Netherlands; Villars on the Rhine; Marsin on the Moselle; Vendome was to push back the imperialists to the Tyrol while La Feuillade captured Turin.

It would, this spring, have well suited the inclinations of Marlborough to go in person to Italy, as he had formerly marched to Germany, and there work with Eugene, instead of being tied to the narrow ideas of the Dutch deputies; but the states-general would, under no circumstances whatsoever, permit any of their troops to go to the south of the Alps. The successes of Villars had so far modified the courage of the deputies, however, that, somewhat to his surprise, the duke was given freer play than usual in the Netherlands.

The French, some sixty-two thousand strong, and with one hundred and thirty guns, under Villeroi, lay near Tirlemont, east of the Dyle, in fortified lines covering Namur, against which they believed the allies had conceived an intention to operate. About May 20, in the Maestricht country, near Tongres, Marlborough concentrated his English and Dutch troops, a force of about sixty thousand men and one hundred and twenty guns. His objective was in fact Namur. To cover this fortress, Villeroi moved forward by his right and took post on Mount St. André on the Great Geete near Ramillies. Marching towards Namur on the old Roman road which here runs along the Méhaigne from east to west, Marlborough's van soon gained sight of the French camp, and perceiving the approach of the enemy, Villeroi drew up in line. The French lay on high ground — a sort of plateau — where rise the Great and Little Geete rivers and several other minor brooks. Marlborough, well aware of the commanding nature of the position, would have been glad himself to seize it; but Villeroi had anticipated him and now stood on its summit in battle array, long before the bulk of the allied columns reached the ground. His army lay in a species of concave order on the slope of the hill back of which runs the Louvain-Namur turnpike, with the marshy ground along the Little Geete in his front, the left leaning on the village of Autre Église, the right stretching out towards Tavières on the Méhaigne, and the centre strengthened by the villages of Ramillies and Offuz. The position, not very expertly taken up, was good only for defense, and Villeroi was constitutionally inclined towards a defensive battle. The cavalry of the left was behind the Little Geete, where it could not manœuvre if needed; Ramillies in Villeroi's front-centre was well held by foot, but could readily be turned and captured; the cavalry of the right stretched out towards Tavières,

but had nothing to lean on, nor were any foot supports near by it. Tavières and an outlying hamlet beyond it were strengthened by some bodies of foot but lacked numbers; the other villages had more, Ramillies being held by twenty battalions; and the rest of the infantry was marshaled in two



Battle of Ramillies.

lines, with the one hundred and thirty guns suitably posted in batteries in its front. The array was formidable. It was because the enemy was looked for along the old Roman road that Villeroi had massed most of his cavalry on his right, in two lines, covering this approach; and because the cavalry comprised the Maison du Roi, he deemed it invulnerable. He forgot the lesson of Blenheim. Despite errors, the line was strong; and few armies are drawn up for battle, in whose setting up one may not discover flaws.

Knowing himself to be in the presence of the enemy, Marlborough had advanced in ten columns, six of foot in the centre, two of cavalry on each of the flanks. Riding ahead to reconnoitre, he at once perceived that the highest point of the French line, the right, where stood the tomb of Ottomond, a German hero of olden times, was the key of the position, and he determined to make it the object of his main attack. But in order to mislead the enemy so as to deliver his assault under the best conditions, he organized at the same time a diversion in some force against the other wing at Autre Église. The concave position of the French aided him in the execution of this task, as he himself held the chord of the arc along which lay their line. With a good deal of show he massed a heavy column and marched it to a point opposite this village; on perceiving which, Villeroi drew most of the reserves from his centre and dispatched them over to sustain his left, which he deemed to be thus threatened. An abler general would have divined that this was no real attack; and would have acted less hastily, for the left was abundantly able to protect itself, for a while at least. This allied column was drawn up in two lines and a reserve, and having sufficiently paraded it to produce the desired impression, Marlborough ordered all but the first line, under cover of some rolling ground which prevented its being seen, over to his left, and at the same time instructed the bulk of his cavalry so to manœuvre as to sustain this flank.

Shortly after noon the attack was opened by the guns, the French devoting their best efforts to the column supposed to be opposite their left, whose first line crossed the Little Geete, advanced to the foot of the crest opposite Autre Église, and opened fire; while under the smoke of the fusillade, the second line and reserve was enabled, as stated, to move off to the left to sustain the main assault.

To give Villeroi no time to repair his mistake, the attack was at once precipitated. A body of Dutch troops moved on Tavières, while a heavy column of twelve battalions was launched against Ramillies; these attacks were driven home, and though Villeroi soon perceived that he had been misled by a sham attack, it was already too late. He had no reserves of foot to meet the onslaught on his right and was compelled to put in some horse, which he dismounted for the purpose, to sustain Tavières. But even this proved unavailing; the Dutch carried the place, while a column of allied cavalry fell on the dismounted horsemen and cut them to pieces. The French horse, of which the right was mainly composed, was now put in; but Overkirk threw back their first line by a handsome charge. The French second line, the *Maison du Roi*, — the flower of the French heavy cavalry, — was not, however, so easily disposed of. Riding down on Overkirk when this officer was somewhat disordered by success, these superb horsemen clave their way through the astonished allied squadrons, and drove them back so far beyond the line of Ramillies that they would shortly have been enabled to take in reverse the foot battalions assailing that village. It was a critical moment, the instant which makes or mars a battle. Perceiving the imminence of the danger, Marlborough in person headed a body of seventeen reserve squadrons which he found ready to hand, sent an urgent order recalling all the horse from the right, where lay twenty squadrons likewise in reserve, and himself led in the column against the cuirassiers, under a telling fire from the French batteries. In the fray he was all but captured, but his opportune charge for a moment checked the enemy; and the aid of the twenty squadrons from the right, which came up at a gallop but in fine close order, reëstablished the battle at this point. At the same moment a body of Danish horse debouched from the

Méhaigne lowlands and fell smartly on the right of the Maison du Roi, and another body of Dutch fell on their left. Thus surrounded, the French cuirassiers, finally losing heart, turned from the field ; and Marlborough, seizing the moment of their backward movement as opportune, and giving his men the impetus which success makes so telling after hours of combat, pressed on with all his troops to the top of the plateau. As is usual in offensive battles, Marlborough had outnumbered his opponent at the point of fighting contact, and the battle was won. But Villeroi was not so readily driven from the field ; he strove desperately to establish a new line by throwing back his right to Geest a Gerompant, and by holding fast to Offuz and Autre Église, so as to form a convex order instead of the concave one with which he first received the allied attack. Ramillies was not yet taken, and that would make an outwork which might perhaps arrest the victors while he patched up the new line. But Marlborough gave him no time ; he knew too well how much the minutes count at the instant of victory. Though the plateau around Ottonmond was crowded with men of all arms, guns and caissons, much disordered and mixed up from the late desperate battle, he pushed on in whatever order he could. No one better understood the meaning of " Action, action, action ! " and while this advance was making, despite the hottest defense, Ramillies fell to the allies, and the ground was such that Villeroi could marshal no new line in any practicable order. Many a general would have now paused to re-form. Not so Marlborough ; there was no let up to his blows. A general advance all along the allied line was sounded, and the whole mass pushed on. Offuz and Autre Église were taken, sweeping the entire field clear of the French. In utterly disorganized masses, bearing no semblance to an army, Villeroi sought refuge at Louvain. The British horse pursued the enemy

almost to the gates of that city, on which Marlborough advanced next day.

The French lost seven thousand killed and wounded, six thousand prisoners, fifty-two guns, eight standards and all their baggage. The allies lost one thousand and sixty-six men killed and three thousand six hundred and thirty-three wounded. Following the noble example of Gustavus as well as his own generous instincts, Marlborough showed great consideration for the enemy's wounded, who had equal care with his own.

Ramillies won nearly all Austrian Flanders; Brussels, Louvain, Mechlin and most other towns of Brabant opened their gates without delay. Only the coast towns, Antwerp, Ostende, Nieuport and Dunkirk, held out. The battle of Blenheim had saved Germany. Turin was to save Italy. Ramillies saved Holland; and the Dutch put no bounds to their joy or gratitude. Marlborough was the national hero; he was no longer hampered by the deputies.

The discipline enforced by Marlborough had an equally happy effect, and went far to win the good-will of the country. On June 6 Antwerp surrendered, and Oudenarde followed suit. Siege was laid to Dunkirk, and that great fortress succumbed on July 6. Menin followed August 22, Dendermonde September 5, Ath October 4. An aggregate of twenty thousand prisoners fell to Marlborough's arms this year.

After this crushing defeat, Vendome was called back from Italy and took the place of Villeroi; and twenty thousand reinforcements came to hand. But the moral depression caused by the defeat of Ramillies was so great that the French only pretended to defend the northern border of France.

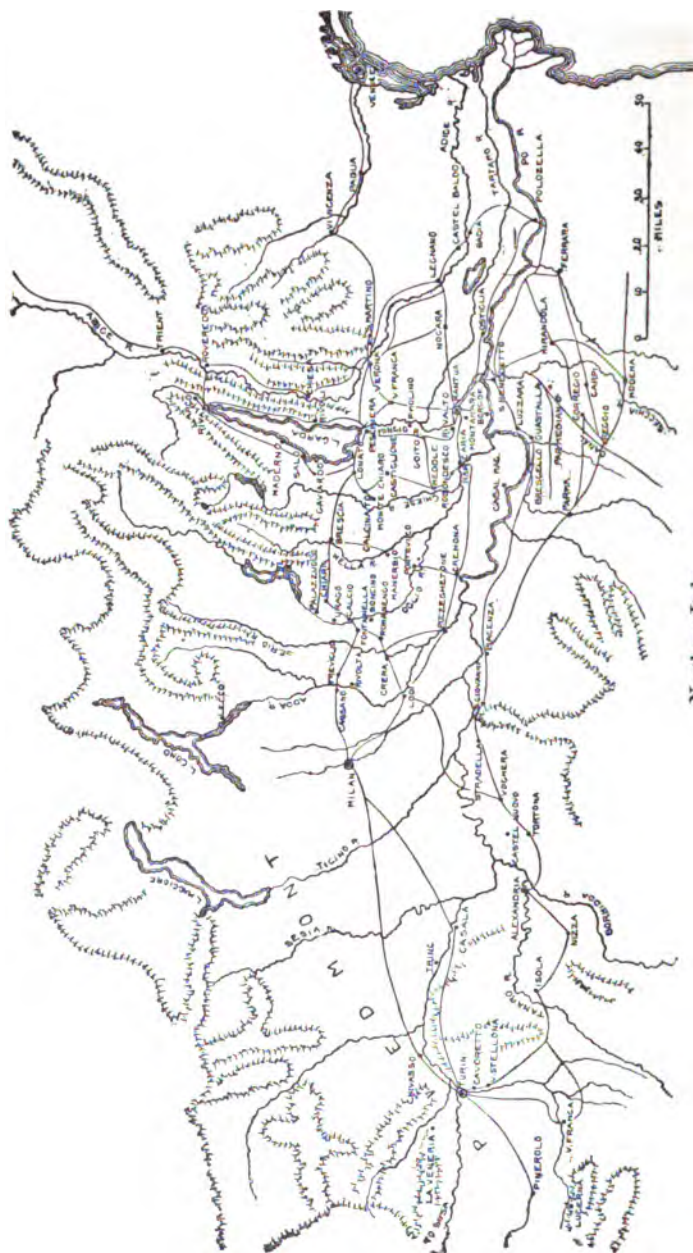
LX.

TURIN. SEPTEMBER 7, 1706.

IF Marlborough won a great triumph at Ramillies, Eugene won an equally splendid victory at Turin. When he was on the Adige the French had begun to press Turin hard. Luckily Vendome was called from Italy to supplant Ville-roi, and the duke of Orleans, with Marsin as second, took command. Eugene determined to march to the relief of Savoy, and leaving the prince of Hesse on the Adige, crossed the Po and advanced rapidly along its south bank westward. The duke followed him, but Eugene got to the pass of Stradella first, which enabled him to pursue his march. Reaching Turin, he joined the duke, which gave him thirty-six thousand men to the sixty thousand of the French. The lines about Turin were very strong, but Eugene, after a careful reconnoissance, attacked them from the west, and so effectually did he follow up his assault that he drove the enemy out of their works, broke up their army and forced them into headlong retreat. As Ramillies saved Holland, so the battle of Turin saved Italy, and, moreover, it resulted in driving the French permanently from the land. This triumph against a heavily intrenched enemy of nearly twice his strength was indeed a glorious one. Perhaps this campaign, including both the march and battle, is the best of the war. It has few superiors in any war.

IF in the Netherlands Marlborough was helping to teach the world the advantage of battle over manœuvring and intrenched lines, so, in this year, Prince Eugene in Italy gave us a brilliant lesson of the same nature.

From the new emperor, Joseph I., Eugene received the same consideration and support which the crown had always vouchsafed him. Early in 1706 several columns of reinforcements were directed towards Italy, to the army which lay on the west bank of the Lake of Garda. Eugene reached Roveredo in mid-April, and Gavardo April 20, but only to find the army in bad case. Its situation had not been over and above



Northern Italy.

secure, nor had the lines been sufficiently watched to have timely notice of the enemy's approach.

On the 19th of April Vendome, who had forty-four thousand men and fighting orders, made a sudden attack on the imperial winter-quarters, which were under command of Count Reventlau during the absence of Prince Eugene, hoping to overwhelm his army and to push it quite out of Italy. Reventlau had been in an intrenched camp, but a threatened turning movement by way of San Marco induced him to come out into the open. The assault fell first on Montechiaro, which Vendome took, and then on Calcinato, with equal success. The troops retired over the bridge of San Marco in much disorder, with a loss of three thousand men. On his arrival Eugene collected some troops, and sought to hold a position he had previously occupied between Gavardo and Salo, but the French on April 22 pushed Salo hard. Vendome sought to cut him off by a flank march near the lake, and making up his mind to take the Adige route, Eugene retired by way of Riva to the Triente country. In a rear-guard fight in Maderno, the enemy was worsted, and Eugene quietly marched around the lake and concentrated on the east shore, hoping to push unopposed down the Adige on the right bank. But as the French had taken possession of both sides of the lower part of the lake, he was forced to fight his way through to the other side of the river. Luckily the French had omitted to hold the passage at Chiuso, else they would have quite barred the imperial passage down the valley of the Adige. Prince Eugene marched through the Polesella valley, and, May 17, took post along the left bank at San Martino. He here awaited his reinforcements and pontoons, which on arrival would give him all told some thirty-eight thousand men and full equipment, not counting ten thousand Hessians still on the way. Vendome left thirty thousand

men to watch the west shore of Garda, and, committing the same error as Catinat, assumed a position in detachments from Salo down, a large part lying opposite the prince, on the right bank of the Adige. He had nearly forty thousand men thus employed. Here the armies remained two or three weeks inactive. Eugene could go no further until his reinforcements came up to replace him when he left.

Meanwhile La Fenillade had besieged Turin in May with forty-two thousand men and two hundred and thirty-seven guns and mortars; and leaving twenty thousand men to defend the capital, the duke of Savoy took refuge with eight thousand men in the Cottian Alps at Luserna, and loudly called to Prince Eugene for aid. Determined to retrieve his last year's failure by moving to Piedmont along the right bank of the Po, Eugene left eight thousand men at Verona to hold the line of the Adige, which force was later joined by the prince of Hesse with his ten thousand, started with the rest in two detachments, July 4 and 5, down the left bank, and crossed at Boara and at Badia, below Castelbaldo, between the 9th and the 14th. So well concealed had been his operations that he met with but slight opposition, though there were twenty-seven thousand French on the right bank from Verona to Badia.

Luckily for the Italian situation, the king now called Vendome from Italy to the Netherlands, where Villeroi had been defeated at Ramillies, and the duke of Orleans, with Marsin as second, was given the command. Vendome had been a worthy antagonist, and his removal was the death-blow to the French successes in Italy. Eugene was as fortunate in his new opponents as Marlborough had been in Villeroi. The change of command upset all calculations, and the new commander found himself face to face with an awkward duty; but he took some healthy measures, called in thirteen thousand men

from La Feuillade, and placed ten thousand under Mendavi opposite the prince of Hesse.

Prince Eugene had crossed the numerous canals and waterways south of the Adige, and the Po at Polozella, by July 24. He was detained near Finale until, on July 27, he heard of the actual arrival of the prince of Hesse, when he moved upstream and over the Secchia past Carpi, and August 1 over the Ledo canal; thence up to the line of the Parmegiano, with a column nearly twenty-five thousand strong.

The duke of Orleans, meanwhile, fell back behind the Mincio, and thinking to arrest Eugene's further march, he left thirty thousand men on that line, crossed at San Benedetto with twenty-six thousand to the south bank of the Po, and took up a position on the Parmegiano. Finding his opponent on hand, Prince Eugene reconnoitred, and ascertained that the duke lay behind a marsh made by the stream, where he could not be readily attacked, and concluded to turn him out of this position by the south.

At this time the prince of Hesse began operations, and advanced to the Mincio, and the duke, lest the situation on the north bank should be changed to his disadvantage, left the Parmegiano, and retired across the Po, thus opening the road to Piedmont along its right bank; and to cap the French troubles, when he reached the Mincio he found that the prince of Hesse had already secured the passage of that river at Goito. Thus, despite his rapid movements, he had failed to stop either of his opponents in their westward march. His activity had been weak and misplaced; mere manoeuvring between two enemies will not suffice; it requires battle.

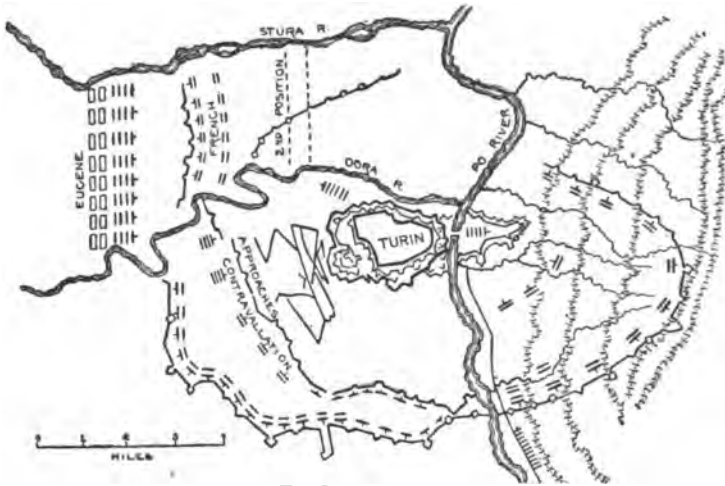
Prince Eugene utilized the enemy's absence by capturing Carpi August 5, Correggio August 8, Finale and Reggio August 9 and 14, and advanced on and took Parma August 15, where the troops were given on the 16th a day of rest on

account of great heat; and thence marched to Piacenza. The season was dry, and the numerous streams did not greatly delay the march.

The duke of Orleans recognized his mistake; he now had one more chance to stop Eugene, and that was at the pass of Stradella, where the possession of the defile between the Apennines and the Po would have shut Eugene out from reaching Piedmont on the right bank of the river. It was the key to northwestern Italy, and could be held by a small body against a large army. We remember that it played its due part in Hannibal's campaign along the Po, as it always has in all operations in northern Italy. To his credit the duke of Orleans saw this chance, hurried seven thousand men ahead to this pass, and followed with the bulk of his army. The march was along the left bank, and the foot was carried in wagons to make speed. But Prince Eugene was fortunate, while the duke was not. So soon as he heard that the French were heading for Stradella, he himself speeded a detachment of seven thousand men towards the defile, followed after a few hours by a second one, and the prince later joined the column with all his cavalry. He reached San Giovanni July 21, and learned to his gratification that the commander of the leading detachment had seized the defile, and that the second one had gone on to Voghera. On the 23d the rest of the foot came up; next day they marched to Voghera, and on the 25th went into camp at Castelnuovo, while the van pushed on. On the 26th the van crossed the Bormida, and on the 27th it stood at the Tanaro. The army followed, marched between the fortresses of Alexandria and Tortona without blockading or besieging either, — an unusual proceeding in those days, as they were held by French garrisons, — and marching to Nizza, crossed the Tanaro, August 28, at Isola, with van at Villafranca. From the Tanaro Eugene,

on the last day of August, joined the duke of Savoy on the upper Po, at Villastellona, whither the duke had come to meet him. Between them they had some thirty-six thousand men. The sick and baggage were sent to Alba.

The duke of Orleans, having failed to anticipate Eugene at Stradella, and thus to prevent his junction with the duke of Savoy, still managed to get to Turin first, marching, as he did, by the shorter road up the left bank of the Po. With



The Battle of Turin.

La Feuillade he had ninety battalions and one hundred and thirty-eight squadrons, some sixty thousand men.

Turin lies on the flat left bank of the Po, and at that day had a strong bridge-head and line of works on the hilly right bank. In his prolonged siege of the place, La Feuillade had directed his main attack against the citadel, and though the siege had lasted four months, and the town had been much bombarded, the whole operation had been so lamentably conducted that its works were still strong. A breach, to be sure, had been made in the citadel, but several assaults had been

driven back. On the left bank was a line of contravallation, and the troops used in the siege were protected by a line of circumvallation a dozen or more miles long, whose left flank leaned on the Po and the right on the Stura, which falls into the Po not far below the city. The lines were cut by the Dora, which falls into the Po at Turin.

The one policy of the French, who were two to one of the allies, was clearly to move on the imperial army and give it battle; but in this matter the French generals were divided in opinion; and finally Marsin, at the council of war of September 5, exhibited instructions from Louis XIV. giving him the right above the duke of Orleans to decide what action should be taken in case of an attack on Turin; and he preferred to await the enemy in the circumvallation lines. This was a singular order to a supposed second in command and a marked indignity to the duke of Orleans, who was a better, if not an older, soldier. These circumvallation lines were, however, weak of themselves as well as weakly garrisoned, especially between the Stura and Dora rivers, where no attack had been anticipated by La Feuillade, and where at the moment were scarcely more than eight thousand men.

It was in the highest degree unwise in the French to fight a strictly defensive battle. They were stronger than their adversaries, but their strength was wasted in the extent of their lines; and the men, knowing that they were in superior force, lost much of their spirit behind intrenchments. The French generals believed that the allies were too weak to attack with any chance of success; that they could not cross the Dora without exposing themselves to a dangerous sortie, and that therefore they would not try; and it was for this reason that to the intrenchments near the Dora proper attention had not been paid. This was a curious but not uncommon lapse of judgment.

Meanwhile Eugene and the duke of Savoy crossed the upper Po and camped at Pianezza, six miles from Turin; they then passed around the lines of the besiegers by the south and west, leaving some bodies to make demonstrations from the east, and took up a position between the Stura and Dora, with headquarters at the castle of La Veneria. A large convoy coming from France was cleverly seized by the duke, and came in good stead.

The commandant of Turin, General Daun, was notified that next day, September 7, an attack would be made, of which a certain signal would be given.

On the other side of the Po, across the bridge, on the Capuchin hill, lay General Alberghatti with a force of twenty thousand French, to shut in the city from the right bank. General Daun sent a force of six thousand militia across to the bridge-head to prevent Alberghatti from detailing any of his forces to aid the rest of the besiegers, or, in case he did so, to make a junction with a big convoy and six thousand Piedmontese troops which were waiting a chance to enter the city.

After a careful reconnoissance Eugene saw that north of the Dora the French line was the weakest; and it was here, on September 7, that the imperial army attacked the circumvallation lines of the French. Eugene's orders for the attack are a model of minuteness, care and intelligence. He had thirty thousand men in line, of which six thousand were horse, and these he ployed into eight columns, and started from camp at daylight. His right leaned on the Dora, his left on the Stura, and he deployed just beyond artillery range. His foot stood in two lines, his cavalry in a third and fourth line; there were three to four hundred paces between lines, and he delivered his assault about an hour before noon, with all the *élan* of which he was capable.

There were but from eight to ten thousand foot here and about four thousand horse; and General Daun at once sent six thousand men from within walls to assail them in rear. The allied left was the first to reach the enemy's lines and to make an impression, as the right had less good ground to pass over. There was the usual swaying to and fro of an assaulting line, and the allied cavalry was once thrust back and threatened with demoralization; but it was not long, under the always gallant personal conduct of Eugene, who here ran his risk with the junior officers, before the line of circumvallation was broken through and the French defenders driven back. The French reinforcements all came up too late, and were successively beaten in detail. The duke of Orleans had called for twelve thousand men from General Alberghatti on the right bank of the Po; but this officer deemed himself neutralized by the six thousand Piedmontese who were trying to throw relief into Turin and by the bridge-head garrison, and did not respond.

The garrison of Turin now made a sharper sally on the French rear. The duke of Orleans and Field-Marshal Marsin were both wounded, the latter mortally; and the French, ill-led and dispersed, were quite broken up and many driven into the Po and drowned. They lost two thousand killed, twelve hundred wounded and six thousand prisoners, over one hundred guns and all their baggage and material; and, lacking leadership, fell back, not by way of Casal or the Milan region, where were Mendavi and a number of strong garrisons, but towards the Alps at Pinerolo, which direction Alberghatti also took, crossing the Po at Cavour. Their direct route to France via Susa was already cut off by the allied position. The allied loss was nine hundred and fifty killed and twenty-three hundred wounded.

Meanwhile, the prince of Hesse, besieging Castiglione, had

been attacked by Mendavi, who had defeated and thrown him back behind the Mincio with a loss of six thousand men. Had the beaten Turin army actually retired on Milan, the campaign might not have been entirely lost. But the allies now began gradually to capture the strong places in Piedmont and the duchy of Milan, twenty-three of which fell to them in the succeeding three months; and seeing that he could no longer hold himself in Italy, Louis XIV. recalled the troops and gave up his fortresses against free exit for the garrisons. The victory at Turin had the same immense results which those at Blenheim and Ramillies had had. The allies gained all Italy, and were able to carry the war to the borders of France. Indeed, the results were greater, for Italy was permanently freed by this noted victory, as Germany and Holland were not.

So splendid a success against an enemy double his strength rarely falls to the lot of any captain. This one was fairly earned, coming as it did from Eugene's decisive march to Piedmont, where he lay upon the communications of the French with France; the forcing of battle at Turin after the selection of the best part of the line to attack; and the good fortune which attended him. The prince's march to Piedmont is one of his best operations. It was bold and well conceived. He threw up his communications with Germany, and thus all hope of reinforcements, for the duke of Savoy had but few troops left, as well as of victual, for the enemy held the entire country. The right bank of the Po was a difficult route, cut up by many streams; and the defile of Stradella must be reached before the French could take it. The question of rationing his men was at that day an almost insuperable obstacle. But fortune this year smiled upon the prince, and lent herself to his bold and clever manœuvres.

The French made mistakes. Vendome began with the

same error which Catinat had made, of trying to watch the entire line of the Adige; but circumstances prevented the error from bearing fruit, and the calling away of this general was a great misfortune. Vendome had the only true theory: beat the enemy and Turin will fall. But the duke of Orleans worked on the converse plan. At all times the French were strong enough to overwhelm the allies, but Vendome had no chance to show what he might have done, and after his recall the French operated badly. They opened the road to Piedmont to Prince Eugene, did not dispute the defile at Stradella, and while of twice his strength at Turin, instead of moving out to fight him, remained in the Turin lines to be beaten.

Had Vendome been kept in command, or had the French army retired on Milan, Prince Eugene's triumph might not have been so brilliant. Without underrating the splendor of this campaign, it must be granted that the errors of the French, and good fortune, helped him as much as Villeroi's weak methods helped Marlborough. But even a Caesar had sometimes to thank mere fortune that he was not overwhelmed; and as Napoleon's brilliant successes were often due to the fatuity of his opponents, so with Eugene and Marlborough. It was Hannibal alone who constantly worked against fortune, and fought able opponents.

Here again battle had done more than manœuvring. On the whole, this campaign is the most brilliant one conducted by any general during the War of the Spanish Succession.



Pike Breaker. (16th Century.)

LXI.

OUDENARDE AND LILLE. JULY 11 AND OCTOBER 22, 1708.

IN 1707 little was done. In 1708 the French had one hundred thousand men near Mons, under the duke of Burgundy and Vendome; Marlborough was at Brussels with sixty-five thousand men. Eugene's army was kept on the Rhine until other troops replaced it, when he was to join the Netherlands army. After some manœuvring Marlborough, who feared that the French would take Oudenarde, determined on battle. Eugene was personally with him, though his army was still on the march from the Rhine. Vendome desired to fight the allies before Eugene's army could come up; but Burgundy was slow and undecided. Finally Marlborough forced operations, and attacked the French while both armies were crossing the Scheldt below Oudenarde. Eugene joined in the battle and commanded part of Marlborough's army. After a long and bloody struggle—somewhat irregular in character—the allies turned the right flank of the French, enveloped them, and drove the wreck of their army back to Ghent. When Eugene's army arrived, he and Marlborough had one hundred and twenty thousand men, with which they undertook the siege of Lille. The French had ninety-six thousand men, but they did nothing effective to interrupt it, and finally, despite a handsome defense by Marshal Boufflers, Lille fell, and the French retired from Flanders.

THE spring after the battle of Ramillies (1707) Vendome, with his eighty thousand men, was ordered to operate defensively against the allied army of but thirty-six thousand. Marlborough was inactive; but it was the Dutch officials who held him back from active work, quite as much as it was limited numbers, and the entire campaign was composed of unimportant manœuvres and petty operations. The theatre of war had become more complicated. It was decided among the allies to protect Savoy against a probable French attack, as well as to prevent French reinforcements from being dispatched to Spain, by undertaking an invasion of southern

France ; but this campaign had no better result. Prince Eugene and the duke of Savoy undertook the expedition into France by way of the Maritime Alps, in connection with a British-Dutch fleet, and operated against Toulon. After a long and difficult march, the army reached that port at the end of July, and found the garrison so depleted that energetic measures would have resulted in its capture. But the duke insisted on a regular siege ; this lasted a month, and during the delay the place was relieved by the French. Eugene conducted a handsome retreat, capturing Susa at its close. The whole affair was a failure, apparently owing to jealousy and consequent want of energy of the duke of Savoy. That the blundering was not Eugene's there is clear evidence ; and the operation does not bear his thumb-marks. It had no special effect on Spain, for on April 25, at the battle of Almanza, Marshal Berwick, in command of the French forces, totally defeated the allies, and placed Spain in the possession of the Bourbons. On the other hand, with an army of thirteen thousand men, General Daun conquered Naples and ejected the Bourbons ; but to offset this success, Villars beat an imperial army on the Rhine, destroyed the Stollhofen lines, invaded Swabia and levied contributions on the land.

In 1708 the French Netherlands army was raised to a force, not including garrisons, of one hundred thousand men, and concentrated near Mons, from which quarter it was to operate under the duke of Burgundy, grandson of Louis XIV., with Vendome as his second and mentor, on a plan which should be offensive, but without running any serious risk. Villars had a small force on the borders of Switzerland. An army of fifty thousand men, under the elector of Bavaria and Field-Marshal Berwick (who, after his victory at Almanza, had been ordered north), stood at Strasburg, and was to be faced by the elector of Hanover ; but until the

forces of the latter were all concentrated, Prince Eugene, with his army of thirty-five thousand Saxons, Hessians, Palatinate troops and imperialists, was ordered to remain near Coblentz, and when relieved to march to the Netherlands to join the Anglo-Dutch army under Marlborough. The excellent result of the generous coöperation of these two captains was recognized. It was manifest that the heavy work was to be done this year in the Low Countries, and Eugene and Marlborough met in the Hague in April to confer as to the plan of action; but the imperial exchequer was so empty that many serious additional duties were laid upon the prince. Well it was that the sea powers had abundant resources and were willing to use them. Eugene had actually been sent to campaign in a friendly land, where he might not take supplies, and without money wherewith to buy them.

There were also annoying difficulties with all the German princes,—the electors of Hanover, Saxony, Mainz and the Palatinate, and the landgrave of Hesse, all of whom disliked the secondary rôle they had to play, and made impossible demands. But the diplomatic good-nature of Marlborough and Eugene finally smoothed over these troubles before the campaign opened.

Marlborough had been lying near Brussels with sixty-five thousand men (English, Dutch, Danes, Hanoverians and Prussians) and one hundred and thirteen guns. There had been some anticipation of treachery on the part of the garrison of Antwerp, and fearing that Vendome, who had been moving into Flanders, would go thither to take advantage of the fact, Marlborough marched, May 24, to Hal, to bar the way to that important harbor. The French, May 26, marched to Soignies, and on June 1 moved further on and camped between Genappe and Braine l'Alleud, about three leagues from Marlborough, on the allies' left flank. Marlborough

did not understand Vendome's purpose, but from his position conceived fears for Louvain or even Brussels; and as he needed to keep the road open for Eugene, who was by and by to come on from Coblentz, he moved by a quick night march, June 2-3, to a position near Louvain. He urgently needed Eugene's assistance, but the latter could not yet leave the Rhine, for Berwick was on hand in force, and the Hanoverian contingent had not yet come up. Both armies here remained a month. Marlborough would have liked to attack Vendome and cut the knot by a battle; but he did not feel strong enough to do so. He had not — no one ever had — the utter disregard of numbers displayed by Frederick. Few ever led such battalions as the last of the kings.

Vendome was energetic meanwhile; he had a very clear purpose. His diversion towards Louvain was a simple ruse to keep Marlborough's eyes away from the Scheldt. The provinces acquired by the allies as a result of Ramillies were full of malcontents. They were Catholic; the people cordially hated the Dutch; and the latter were not wise in their treatment of the case, but levied taxes remorselessly. Ghent was a most important place. In the hands of the allies it was a sort of advanced work which defended Flanders, and a base from which Lille, the great French fortress, could be threatened. Vendome proposed to have it, and for some time had been working with the authorities within walls to induce them to play into his hands. In this he succeeded, and by able dispositions, energy and a sharp march by his left on the night of July 4 to the Senne, the French got well ahead of Marlborough, advanced across the Dender, and on July 5 one of their parties seized Ghent by a *coup de main*. Another party laid hold of Bruges on the same day, and Plassendaël, one of the defenses of Ostende, was captured by

storm July 10. This was a blow straight in the face of the Anglo-Dutch.

On learning of Vendome's operations Marlborough, on July 5, had advanced with the hope of arresting his progress; but the French marshal was too speedy, placed himself back of Alost to protect Ghent, and Marlborough took position at Asche, west of Brussels. He was ready to attack the enemy on the Dender July 7, but the harm had been already done, and battle would correct nothing. He now feared the enemy would capture Oudenarde, as was indeed Vendome's next projected step; and he threw into it a force taken from the garrisons of neighboring places, sufficient to hold it, just before the French came to invest it.

These successes of the French had the effect of depressing the Dutch to so alarming an extent that the English commander determined to force a battle even before the arrival of Eugene's corps, if he could do so, lest the Dutch should become so far demoralized as to conclude a separate peace. Indeed, Marlborough, whose health was far from good, was himself much down-hearted, and it was well that Eugene arrived at this time to cheer him up. An occasion was not long in presenting itself, and Marlborough, with the countenance of Eugene, who, escorted by a small cavalry force, had hurried ahead of his corps, was not slow to embrace it. Having failed to seize Oudenarde out of hand as he had Ghent, Vendome determined to besiege the place, and detached a force to make preparation for so doing. The fortress was central, commanded a passage of the Scheldt, whose high banks make it an easily defended river, and gave its possessor singular facilities for manœuvring in both Brabant and Flanders. To cover the projected siege as well as Ghent and Bruges, the French position between Oordegen and Alost was as good as any. Marlborough, still fearing for this impor-

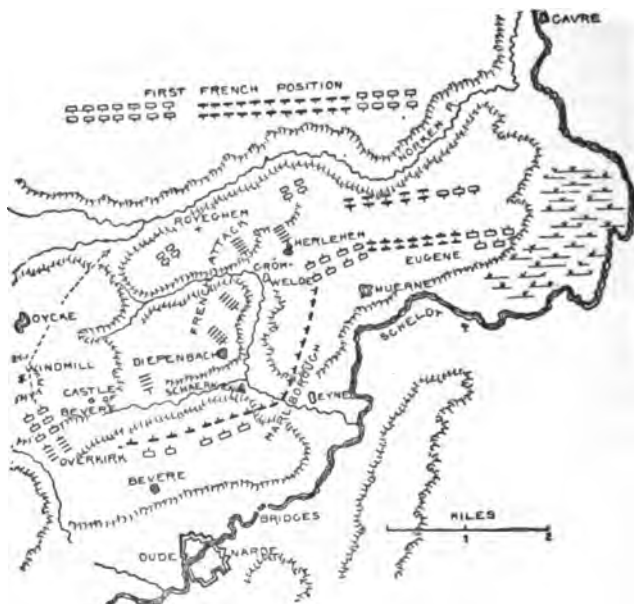
tant fortress, to him a link in his home communications, as well as apprehensive that the enemy would occupy and eat out all northern Flanders, thus consuming victual he needed himself, determined to forestall both accidents. His plan to secure battle was to move on Vendome's communications with France, instead of directly on his main body; and this had manifest advantages, as the event showed. He hurried a detachment of three regiments each of foot and horse, and six guns, under General Cadogan, July 9, to the Dender at Lessines, with orders to bridge it; the army moved forward by its left to the same place on the 11th, and Cadogan was again sent with sixteen battalions and thirty squadrons to bridge the Scheldt below Oudenarde. The main force speedily followed, and next day reached and stood ready to pass that river. In forty-eight hours the troops had marched some forty miles, had crossed one river and made ready to cross a second. This was fast work at that day, good for any day.

Hoping to prevent the allies' passage of the Dender, of the march on which he was informed, Vendome had, July 9, advanced to Ninove, where, finding that he was too late to accomplish the end in view, and ascertaining that the allies were bridging the Scheldt, he conceived fears for Ghent, and in order to cover that fortress, turned back to the river, which he prepared to cross on his bridge at Gavre, a short distance below Marlborough's bridges. The Oudenarde detachment was ordered in.

It was apparent to Vendome that the thing to do was to fight Marlborough before Eugene's corps came up, and he advised his chief, the duke of Burgundy, to cross the Scheldt as soon as he could possibly put the troops over, and be ready to fall upon the enemy. In pursuance of this idea, in fact, Vendome sent to the other side the van under General Biron,

with orders to hold the allies till the French army should have got over, so that the whole force could then fall upon them while in the confusion of crossing. Biron occupied Eyne. The operation could very well have been carried out, as the allies at this moment were still busy completing their bridges and the French had their own all ready ; and when the first allied detachment, under Cadogan, pushed out towards the high ground, they ran across these very forces of Vendome's. No better plan could have been devised, for the French were several hours in advance of Marlborough ; but it was not promptly carried out, and its very essence was speed. The duke of Burgundy had been, so far, a passive tool in the hands of his able second ; but as dangers thickened, and the pulse of Vendome, soldier-like, began to throb in quicker beats, the duke grew nervous and undecided, and instead of pushing the troops over the river, as advised by his lieutenant, consumed the precious time in coming to a conclusion as to what he had best do. He appeared to be afraid to go into a general engagement, and finally thought wise to return to Ghent. But it was already too late to avoid the one or accomplish the other. It was not long after noon that Cadogan had crossed the Scheldt and pushed his horse and twelve battalions of foot out to the higher land towards Eyne and to its left. He soon struck the French van from Gavre, which stopped him in a smart encounter and seized Eyne. Notwithstanding the laxness of Burgundy, Vendome still hoped to be able to catch the English astride the river, and as troops got over, he formed line of battle on the high ground behind the Norken. Some eighty thousand men were thus set up. Meanwhile Marlborough and Eugene pushed forward the crossing, and by two o'clock had got over a substantial part of their equal numbers. It had been a race of speed and purpose : Marlborough and Eugene were instinct

with a single idea, while Vendome was hampered in all he did by his inexperienced and hesitating chief. Had he been sole in command, the battle of Oudenarde might not have proven an allied victory. Some critics underrate Vendome's ability



Battle of Oudenarde.

in this campaign. At times he exhibited his best qualities ; at others he lapsed into his indolent mood.

Vendome's idea of the best way to fight the battle was to drive an attack firmly in on the allied right, and by breaking it, cut it from the river and the bridges ; and he dispatched a force under General Piffier from the left to open up the manœuvre ; but Burgundy, technically in command, would not permit the operation, alleging unsuitability of ground near the river. Advancing along the Ghent road, Piffier did, however, get as far as Huerne and Eyne. These contin-

ued delays and irresolute orders were fatal to the French. Burgundy now desired to retreat, but Vendome showed him that it was no longer feasible; the enemy was already upon him. The brilliant opportunity for overwhelming the allies while astride the river had faded as the sun grew lower.

As the allied troops were got upon the field, they were marshaled on the first high ground to the west from Eyne, and so soon as enough men were on hand, Cadogan was again pushed in on that village, which after a sharp half hour's fighting he took, by attacking it in front with his foot and riding around its left with his squadrons. Pfffer withdrew to the vicinity of the Norken. Added to Burgundy's fatuity, it was Cadogan's activity which had prevented the French from disturbing the crossing, now completed under the cover he had afforded.

The position behind the Norken was a serious one to attack; and when he found that he had been prevented by Burgundy from seasonably initiating an offensive battle, Vendome bethought him to invite attack here. But nothing would suit his chief, who now ordered some cavalry forward from the right to see if he could occupy the Huerne plateau. This force he shortly followed up by some foot, and presently a large part of the French right was marching out to the attack.

It was well after four when the French attack became serious, and by this time the allies were ready for it. The cavalry force pushed out from the right, having met some of the Prussian horse, fell back to Royeghem. There was no system in the manœuvres of the French, who, now that their opportunity had passed, advanced their right in earnest. Divining that they would make their main effort with this wing, Marlborough had deployed his troops accordingly, pushed forward the forces from Eyne towards Huerne and

Herlehem, and threw out small parties to seize and defend the woods and hedges beyond the line, so as to hold the advanced ground for the troops to occupy as they arrived. The Prussian horse was sent out to the left of this body beyond Huerne, while Schaecken was held by twenty battalions. As yet little artillery had been got up; time had not sufficed.

No sooner had Marlborough reached this advanced position than the French right was upon him. Thirty battalions of French and Swiss guards debouched from the covered country on Groemvelde, fell on a small allied force posted there, cut it up, and pushed on down the little brook, taking Marlborough's advanced force absolutely in reverse. Not slow to perceive or utilize their advantage, the French all too soon caught the inspiration of success, and already the cry of victory began to resound along their lines. But Marlborough was happily equal to the occasion. Eugene, the ever ready, was at hand; to him Marlborough confided the work upon the right, giving him his English troops, while, seizing the Dutch and Hanoverians, he set himself to stem the threatening tide of defeat on the left of Schaecken. Foreseeing that the French would soon attack in force on their immediate front, he sent twenty more battalions under Count Lottum to Eugene, intending that by and by the decisive blow should be given by the right; so that the prince now had about one third of all the allied foot—sixty battalions—under his command,—more than twice what Marlborough retained on the left. Well that it was so, for the French columns between Groemvelde and Schaecken were making desperate efforts to follow up their supposed gain, and Eugene had all he could do to hold them in check. Moreover, at this moment the infantry of the French left-centre advanced across the Norcken, and the cavalry of their left followed to sustain them.

Cadogan was hustled out of Herlehem by the sudden onslaught; but the reinforcement enabled Eugene to reestablish the fight, and having first driven the French back across the Eyne, he turned to the plateau and broke the French first line, while the Prussian horse followed up this gain and charged clean through the French second line, being only stopped by the reserve of cuirassiers in the rear, which drove it back.

There being few guns of either army on the field to make a pronounced effect, the battle was one of musketry only, and it took the form of desperate contests by small bodies at every little patch of woods, every hedge, ditch or hamlet.

Opposite Marlborough west of Schaecken, where he was striving to turn the tide of French success with the Dutch and Hanoverians, the fighting was similar and equally severe. Every obstacle was utilized, and a series of partial and desperate encounters resulted all along the S-shaped line. Cavalry was of small use in the country covered with hedges and copses, unless dismounted. But the foot fought tenaciously, and finally, under Marlborough's strong will, the allied line compelled the retreat from their advanced position of the French, who too soon had deemed the victory secure. But it was only by desperate hand to hand fighting that they were forced back to Diepenbeck; and here ensued a pause. Neither party could gain a step.

Marlborough's eye was keen. Spying the windmill of Oycke on his left, he detached Overkirk with the reserve cavalry and twenty Dutch battalions to occupy it, move beyond and turn the French right. With marked speed, despite the heavy ground cut up by all manner of obstacles, the veteran general made his way thither, and defeating a French force which held the castle of Bevere, threw it off toward the west. He soon got himself into a position on the

French right flank, which was in the air, and, extending his left under the prince of Orange as far as he could reach, he enveloped their forces from Bevere to Royeghem. This manœuvre was in reality what won the battle, for the French troops along the Eyne, startled by a fire in their rear, quickly fell back, and in much confusion, and this was carried throughout the army, and grew into a panic as darkness settled on the field. From a species of convex order, the allies now swung forward into a huge concave semicircle, and drove the French before them at every point, crowding them in more and more. Thus huddled together on the plain, there was little chance to fight to good effect, and even the stoutest resistance of the French gendarmes, who did their duty nobly, could effect nothing.

Vendome sought to stem the tide by a heroic assault on the right-centre and right of the allies with all the forces he could muster on his left; but cheered with the marked success of the allied left, Eugene held his own against the heavy onslaught. The ground was so much cut up that the French could not advance in order, and the Bavarian horse held bravely to its line on the edge of the plain. Eugene now advanced his wing to cut off the enemy from the river, and so fully did the concave order of the enveloping force complete the circle, that the two outer flanks met on the heights in the French rear, and indeed exchanged volleys at each other in the dark.

It was through this gradually narrowing gap that the French left and centre made their escape. Their right was nearly all taken, a few only making their way through openings in the allied line to Bevere and thence towards France; and Eugene captured prisoners from their left wholesale. It occurred to him to have the French "appel" (assembly) beaten by his drums, which brought in a vast number of

men to swell his prisoners. Had daylight lasted, the French army would have been forced into surrender.

The French lost three thousand killed, four thousand wounded, nine thousand prisoners, three thousand deserters, one thousand officers and one hundred standards. The allied loss was two thousand killed and three thousand wounded; or, as otherwise stated, only eight hundred and twenty-five killed and two thousand two hundred wounded.

In this battle of Oudenarde the French army was almost broken up. Vendome was the one who most contributed to repair the disaster. He gathered a handful of troops less demoralized than the others, formed a rear-guard, arrested the flying army and reestablished a new line three or four miles in front of Ghent. When next day (July 12) Marlborough sent twelve battalions and forty squadrons on Ghent, expecting to complete his yesterday's work, the force was received and checked by Vendome at this place. Shortly after, the French army fell back through Ghent and took up a position with its back to the sea, behind fortified lines and the Bruges and Ghent canal. With a heavy force at this point, from which Brussels could be threatened, Vendome believed that Marlborough would not advance into France. Ypres, with its fortified lines, which the French had built to hold the Lys-Scheldt region, soon fell to an expeditionary force sent out under the Prussian marshal Lottum; but nothing further was immediately undertaken; Marlborough moved up to Helchin on the Scheldt, and later, to a position on the Lys above Menin.

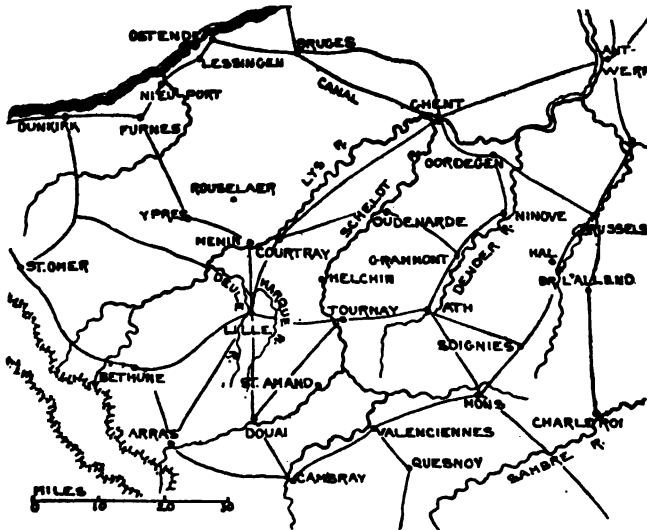
About the 15th of July Eugene's corps arrived at Brussels, thirty-five thousand strong; and to strengthen the French, the duke of Berwick who, when he became aware that troops were moving from the Rhine country towards the Netherlands, had left part of his army *in situ*, and had

headed with the rest to the assistance of Vendome, also came up from the middle Rhine, with twenty-four thousand men, and took post near Valenciennes and Douay. It now appeared how valuable had been Marlborough's action in moving on the communications of the French army before engaging it. He had thrust the most important force of the enemy back into a corner of Flanders, and there was no army left except that of Marshal Berwick between his own divisions and the French capital. How should he utilize the favorable position?

At Brussels, Ath and on the Lys, with one hundred and twenty thousand men, the allies lay between the two French armies, Vendome's large numerically but demoralized by defeat, and Berwick's not strong enough to stand long against their heavy onset flushed with victory. It has been suggested by some critics that the joint commanders should have now marched on one or other of these divided forces. But it is never easy at any one era to frame your military work to the pattern of future critics of another era; and as Vendome was for the moment neutralized by defeat, and Berwick by lack of numbers, there were many other schemes for reducing the land equally advantageous for the allied commanders to consider. Both of the French armies were perhaps in their judgment too strongly placed to warrant attack, when equal results could be otherwise obtained. Whatever their reasons, nothing of the kind was attempted. The month of July was consumed in raids for material and forage, or in other small war by both armies.

In discussing plans, Marlborough is said to have advised an invasion of France and a march on Paris. In view of the fact that Eugene could have been left behind to prevent Vendome from mischievous diversions in Flanders while the invading army should be absent, of the comparative prox-

imity of the French capital, and of the lack of strong forces in his front, this was much the same operation as the march to Vienna urged on Gustavus after the battle of Breitenfeld, and which so many critics still maintain he should have undertaken. But Eugene could not have been given a force large enough to contain both Vendome and Berwick, who would at once have united forces, without reducing Marlborough's



Brussels-Lille Region.

army below the number requisite for such an invasion; and the two French armies, the heavy garrisons of the intervening fortresses and the militia of the provinces were too great an array in his rear to make the operation safe for the English general. In any event, the Dutch deputies would not hear of Marlborough's absentsing himself from the Low Countries while Vendome remained there; and the suggestion was incontinently shelved. Eugene was inclined at first to agree with Marlborough; but he now thought that prior to

such an operation, some great fortress on the frontier should be taken as a *point d'appui* and magazine. Obstinate as Marlborough was in the prosecution of a manœuvre to which he had put his hand, he was equally diplomatic and reasonable in the cabinet, and he was moreover unable to insist on his own view. The allies decided to undertake the siege of Lille, which Eugene was to run while Marlborough should cover it by posting himself between Oudenarde and Tournay.

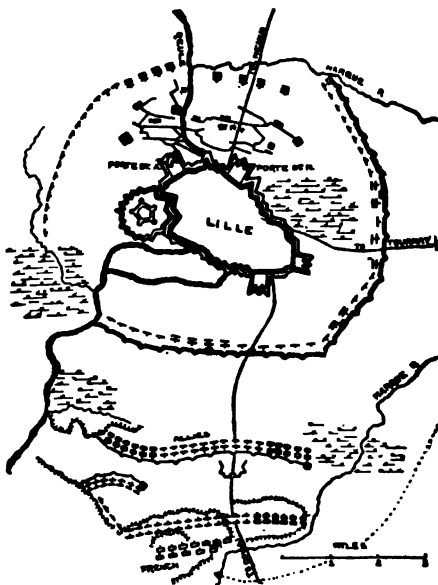
The presence of Vendome in his lines between Ghent and Bruges made the undertaking far from an easy one. Lacking the navigation of the Scheldt, now interrupted by the French position, the ordnance, munitions and victual had to come overland from Holland ; and huge convoys must be got from Brussels to Lille safe from Vendome's interruption. Nothing exhibits the severity of the blow which the battle of Oudenarde inflicted on the French more than the fact that they confined themselves during all these preparations strictly to minor schemes.

Lille, captured in 1667, now chief frontier fortress of France and commanding the Lys-Scheldt country, was not only one of the masterpieces of Vauban, but it was held by an exceptionally big garrison — fifteen thousand men — under that celebrated soldier, Marshal Boufflers, who, shrewdly anticipating an investment, had thrown himself into the place at the end of July. The troops were mostly raw, but their spirit was excellent. The means of defense was ample ; the scheme had been drawn up by Vauban himself, and was under control of his nephew, General Vauban, who was serving in the town ; and no stone was left unturned to make the defense a success. Many celebrated French officers and noblemen were within walls, and many well-known foreigners joined the army of the besiegers, — among them perhaps the most noteworthy, a slender lad of twelve, later the

great Marshal Saxe. The siege, whichever way it turned, was destined to be a remarkable one, — for a large and amply equipped army was to conduct it; this was protected by a larger one; and a third of over one hundred thousand men lay ready to interrupt it.

The first great step was to get the initial convoy safely to the place, without an attack by Vendome. Luckily the latter never dreamed of a siege of Lille; he imagined Mons to be the objective of the convoy of which he had heard, and he made no other motion to disturb it than to send a column of eighteen thousand men part way to the Dender. Indeed he jeered at the idea of so able a man as Eugene undertaking so impossible a thing. The convoy was well conducted.

It consisted of five thousand wagons containing one hundred and twenty heavy guns, sixty mortars and twenty howitzers, was fifteen miles long, and left Brussels August 6, — via Soignies and Ath, whence it turned off by way of Helchin towards Lille. The Brussels garrison protected it as far as Ath; thence the imperialists undertook its safety to Helchin, where Marlborough received and escorted it. The details of its man-



Siege of Lille.

agement furnish a fruitful study in the art of protecting convoys. Marshal Berwick, who had pushed forward to St. Amand, had suggested to Vendome the advisability of interrupting the allies' plan by moving in force to some point between Brussels and Lille; but Vendome, who had his lazy as well as energetic moods, would not listen to him.

While Eugene undertook the siege with forty thousand men, Marlborough, with a force stated between sixty and seventy thousand, took up his position at Helchin. This was a well-chosen place, from which Marlborough could readily scout the country, or move to any threatened point; and in order to facilitate the speedy delivery of supplies, six bridges were built at various places on the Scheldt.

So soon as the head of the big convoy reached Lille, August 14, Eugene began his operations. Ten thousand men were set at work on the lines of circumvallation and contravallation, which were nine miles in extent. Long before these were completed, and under fire of the besieged and some sorties, Eugene opened his trenches on the night of August 22-23. Two attacks were chosen, both on the north of the town, one on either side of the Deule, and opposite the horn-works at the gates of St. André and of the Madeleine. On August 24 fire was opened; the second parallel was finished on the 25th, and a heavy fire was at once begun. Sorties were frequent, in one of which the works erected at the chapel of the Madeleine were destroyed.

On August 30 a junction was made between the armies of Vendome and Berwick. It had required a great deal of persuasion to induce Vendome to throw up his Ghent-Bruges lines; but he finally left La Motte in Ghent with twenty thousand men, and moved via Oordegen and Ninove on Grammont, while Berwick advanced from Mons towards the same place. After the junction the army — under supreme

orders of the duke of Burgundy — marched to Tournay, crossed the Scheldt and camped on the west of that fortress. As Burgundy was a mere figurehead, and Vendome and Berwick, both able men, were at swords' points, there was small unity in the French army. Marlborough had made a movement to interrupt the operation by which the French thus concentrated, but could not do so. The French generals now had a force of over one hundred thousand men, and though their counsels remained divided, there was manifestly but one thing to do, and that was to relieve Lille; with which intent, on September 2 they started towards the beleaguered place, and soon took up a position along the Marque on its east bank, hoping to find a chance to raise the siege. Marlborough was early instructed of their advance, which he had been expecting, at once guessed their object, and, anticipating the manœuvre, slipped in between them and Lille, and himself on September 5 assumed a position behind the Marque. He was none too soon. Within two hours after he had established himself the French van came up. The enemy had with them some two hundred guns.

Either Vendome or Berwick of his own motion would have fought; but as orders from the court of Versailles had impressed caution, and the two generals were so jealous of each other and agreed so ill that Burgundy could not control them, no plan of action could be agreed upon. Finally, on referring the case to Versailles, the king sent the war minister on to decide the action to be taken. Chamillart knew nothing of war, but he concluded that a battle might be delivered to advantage, and Vendome and Berwick moved closer to Marlborough, taking up a position between the Marque and the Deule; to meet which Marlborough had already constructed a strong line to face them. But after all this preparation, except a two days' cannonade, no attack was made. Eugene

detached enough of his besieging force to run Marlborough's strength up to eighty-five thousand men, and battle was anxiously awaited, but in vain. The colleagues indeed were eager to attack the French, but the Dutch deputies, content with the situation, vetoed the project, and Marlborough then fortified his position. Finally, September 15 Vendome and Berwick returned to Tournay and stretched out towards Oudenarde, and Marlborough, following, camped near the Scheldt. Though still between Lille and the French, they yet had managed so cleverly as to sever the allies' communications with Brussels, and only the road to Menin remained open. Shortly the French captured the bridges over the Scheldt, and what they had not accomplished by a battle, they now had a prospect of accomplishing by famine.

In the siege-lines, sorties and assaults were of daily occurrence, and the fire from both sides was constant; but despite hearty pushing, the progress of the siege was slow; Boufflers was as able as Lille was strong. Not until September 7, when an assault in force at a loss of three thousand men gave the allies a footing on the works, was there any special gain; and with Ghent, Bruges, Douay, Tournay, all in French hands, the case was beginning to look desperate. On September 20 another assault in force, headed by a column of five thousand picked English troops, was delivered; though given with the utmost gallantry, it was thrice repulsed, when Eugene in person headed the fourth assault, and after two hours' fighting a good lodgment was effected, at a loss in the English column of two thousand killed and wounded. Eugene was himself among the wounded, a fact which for a few days seriously increased Marlborough's duties. On September 23 still another assault was delivered in two columns of five thousand men; and another lodgment was effected at a loss of one thousand killed and wounded.

Both besiegers and besieged were getting out of powder ; but the French cunningly introduced a supply into the town by some eighteen hundred horsemen, who, each carrying a sixty-pound sack, managed to break through the investing lines ; while at the same time, near the end of September, Marlborough managed to replace his exhausted store from England via Ostende, by a convoy ably led, but with a loss of at least one thousand men. The siege still dragged along. On September 30 yet another stout assault was delivered ; the fire from the works never ceased, and gradually the capacity of the town to resist was destroyed. Finally, on October 22, just before a final assault was to be made, Marshal Boufflers surrendered the town and retired into the citadel, where he held himself six weeks longer, nor capitulated until December 11, notwithstanding a number of assaults, in which, as was his habit, Eugene frequently led the column.

No commander of a great army can be praised for thus risking his life. Marlborough was less wont to be tempted out of the general conduct of operations into such moods of daring. But while condemning the act, one cannot but admire the dash of the imperialist, in whose diminutive body throbbed the heart of a lion, as in his brain there worked a military intellect not surpassed by any man of his generation.

Out of a force of fifteen thousand men, increased by eighteen hundred horsemen, the garrison lost all but four thousand five hundred. The allied loss was three thousand six hundred and thirty-two killed and eight thousand three hundred and twenty-two wounded ; but many more died of sickness. It was the victory of Oudenarde which so demoralized the French that they did not interfere to better effect with this memorable siege.

Vendome had rejoined the force at Ghent. Burgundy and Berwick remained on the Scheldt, where, from Tournay to

Oudenarde, they fortified all the crossings with carefully constructed works, often in double and triple lines, purposing to cut the allies permanently from Brussels. From Ghent Vendome moved out and captured a number of small places in front of Bruges and Ostende, opened the sluices at Plas-sendael near Ostende and at Nieuport, and overflowed the country so as to cut off Marlborough's line of supply from England. The latter moved across the Lys to attack Vendome, but the Frenchman retired to Bruges. The flood and the capture of Lessinghe by Vendome obliged Marlborough to send foraging parties all over the country and well into Picardy, to victual the army, as well as to build high-wheeled carts to haul powder through the inundated districts. At the beginning of November the French generals were ordered by Louis XIV. to extend their line along the Scheldt, and to take up positions all around Lille in a great semicircle of fifty leagues. The cordon thus formed lay at Bethune, Arras, Douay, St. Amand, Saulces near Tournay, the right bank of the Scheldt to Ghent, and behind the canal to Bruges. Small bodies only were placed along the cordon, except at Tournay, Melchin, Ghent and behind the canal. The object of this plan was to cut the allies off from both the coast and Brussels, and meanwhile to protect France. The weakness of so long a line did not occur to the king; but it is certain that Vendome can have had nothing to do with the scheme. His ability in this campaign had been overlooked, and his wonderful services of the past forgotten, — a fact to which his own difficult disposition contributed not a little. Both armies thus remained a month, when Berwick was again sent to the Rhine.

At the end of November the French dispatched a body of fifteen thousand men under the elector of Bavaria, who moved from Mons by Braine l'Alleud and Hal, behind the

Scheldt curtain, to take Brussels; and trenches were opened against that city on the 24th. Brussels had only an old and weak wall, but the garrison held bravely out, and Marlborough and Eugene, with sixty-five thousand men, joined hands at Marlborough's camp at Rouselaer, crossed the Lys, by clever dispositions misled the enemy, and forced the Scheldt near Oudenarde. The French line was broken, despite its careful construction, and the army cut in two, of which one part retired to Tournay and Grammont, and another to Ghent. Having thus broken the Scheldt lines, Eugene returned to the siege of Lille citadel, and Marlborough went to the relief of Brussels, from which the elector, on hearing of his approach, speedily decamped; whereupon Marlborough marched back to Oudenarde.

The allies were not content to go into winter-quarters while Vendome lay in his Ghent-Bruges line. Ghent, which Vendome had left to La Motte while he operated in the Ostende region, was accordingly attacked and taken by a summary siege in December, capitulating January 2, and Bruges followed suit soon after. The French thereupon retired within their own border, Vendome going into winter-quarters between Ypres and Furnes.

During this year, the main struggle between France and the allies took place in the Netherlands, and the campaign here had been one exhibiting consummate ability in strategy, tactics and logistics. Elsewhere the operations were confined to manœuvring, but they are more interesting as samples of the unenterprising system of the day than as military studies. At the end of the campaign both parties appear to have shown more signs of exhaustion than they had since the beginning of the war.

LXII.

MALPLAQUET. SEPTEMBER 11, 1709.

Efforts at peace were fruitless, and Villars opened the 1709 campaign with over one hundred thousand men in intrenched lines near Bethune. The allies had one hundred and ten thousand men ; but Villars' position being too strong for attack, they laid siege to Tournay and took it in July. They then sat down to besiege Mons, from a position which rendered the French lines useless. Villars marched to its relief, took up a defensive position at Malplaquet, and the allies advanced on him. The armies were about equal, each short of one hundred thousand men, Villars being very stoutly intrenched. The bulk of the fighting, though not the most bloody, was in the forest of Taisnières, on the right, in front of Eugene. The Dutch on the left assaulted with equal heart ; but the battle was not won until the French centre was disorganised to save the left, and Marlborough made the final assault which ruptured the French line. Boufflers, who had taken wounded Villars' place, withdrew in good order, with a loss of fourteen thousand men ; the allies had lost twenty thousand. The result of the victory was naught. The allies turned to the siege of Mons, which they took September 26. With Malplaquet, Marlborough's brilliant military career ends. Together, he and Eugene had won Blenheim, Oudenarde and Malplaquet ; separate, he had won Ramillies and Eugene Turin. Honors in this war were equal.

THE efforts to conclude peace during the winter of 1708-1709 were unavailing. The allies made their demands so harsh that Louis felt that he could not honorably accept them ; and his appeals to the French people were so effectual that, despite unusual distress throughout France, the power with which the new campaign was opened exceeded that of any other in which France had ever engaged. To Harcourt was intrusted the defense of the Rhine and Alsatia ; to Berwick the task of holding head to the duke of Savoy, who threatened to debouch from the Alps ; but Flanders was

again to be the main theatre of operations. The *ban* and *arrière-ban* were called out; forces were drawn from the Rhine, and Villars, who had replaced Vendome, entered the field with one hundred and twelve thousand men, instinct with enthusiasm and courage. A preliminary position was taken up from Douay to the Lys, strongly fortified with all manner of works, marshes and inundations, and with detachments out at Lannoy, Toufiers and Templeuve, in a strong but extended line, holding Bethune and covering Lens. The left was made the stronger flank because Villars believed that the allies, not to lose touch with the coast, would be apt to approach this way; and the object of the whole line seemed to be to protect Arras and Douay, fortresses which were essential to the safety of France. The line was later prolonged far to the east, and ran, more or less well held, by way of Marchiennes and Denain, Condé and Mons, and backward to Maubeuge.

By great exertions, Marlborough managed to get sufficient supplies voted; and ten thousand men were added to the English forces in Flanders. All told, the allies under Eugene and Marlborough opened the campaign with one hundred and ten thousand men,—a motley array of many nationalities, but held together by good discipline and success, and by ardent belief in their distinguished leaders. They were in a mood to attack the enemy; but owing to the late season, it was June before their forces could assemble, and at the end of June they moved forward up the Lys, and on either side of the Deule, towards where Villars sat behind his inexpugnable defenses in the plain, and where he would have been only too glad to accept a battle. He at first imagined from their direction that the allies proposed to take Aire and St. Venant on his left, and then move into Picardy, or perhaps on Paris; when they had, however, reached a point

well south of Lille, he concluded that they were about to attack him, and prepared for the event by manning his lines.

Eugene and Marlborough carefully reconnoitred Villars' position, which they found to be altogether too strong to attack. The right leaned on the Lille-Donay canal; the centre had the marsh of Cambrin as a shield; and the left, which had received especial attention, was protected by streams and hills near Bethune. Intrenchments lay along the front; inundations alternated with regularly built lines; palisades and earthworks were erected everywhere, and the entire front had a ditch fifteen feet wide and six feet deep, with corresponding rampart. The army was encamped behind this defense, in two foot-lines, with cavalry cantoned in the rear. It was found essential by the allied generals to adopt some other means of opening the campaign than a foolhardy assault. By taking Tournay they might go far to turn Villars out of the strongest part of his intrenched line by the right, and after due deliberation they set themselves this task.

But first it was wise to deceive Villars, and the allied commanders made a demonstration in force towards his lines, as if seriously to attack them. On July 23 Eugene with the right crossed the Deule below Lille; Marlborough with the left, consisting of the Anglo-Dutch, crossed the Marque; and the whole force concentrated on the upper Deule. Villars believed that their attack was certain, withdrew all his detachments, strengthened himself with parts of the garrisons of Tournay and other fortresses, and lay waiting his opponents. On the night of June 27 the allies made a march in the direction of the enemy in such fashion that he should observe it; and then, by a sudden file to the left, behind a curtain of troops, marched straight on Tournay. So admirably was this

done that by seven next morning they had reached and completely invested that fortress.

When Villars perceived that the allies had sat down before Tournay, he did not deem it essential to interfere with the siege, but holding fast to his position, made two or three isolated attacks on the protecting force of Eugene at Mortagne and St. Amand, as if to feel him. He understood that his rôle was to protect the French frontier rather than to do battle with the enemy.

Lying on the Scheldt, the town of Tournay was well fortified and full of military stores, but the garrison was not large, nor was victual abundant. The outworks had been drawn by Vauban, and the citadel was of the best. The colleagues reversed the rôles of Lille: Marlborough undertook the siege; Eugene covered the operation by a position in a semicircle southwest of Tournay from St. Amand through Orchies to Pont à Tessin. Approaches were opened July 6; but not until the 10th were the heavy guns got up by the river from Ghent. After repeated assaults and sorties repulsed, on the 21st a lodgment was effected in the covered way; on the 27th a strong horn-work fell, and July 29 the town surrendered, and the garrison, still four thousand strong, retired into the citadel. The latter offered exceptional difficulty, and owing to lack of ability in the corps of engineers, a siege of mines and counter mines went on for weeks, with great loss of life. It was not until September 3 that the citadel surrendered.

Villars had done nothing to interrupt the siege, but to answer the demonstration on his right had been extending his lines from Douay along the Scarpe to Condé, and beyond the Scheldt. Finally, but too late to prevent the fall of Tournay, he made another demonstration on St. Amand. Eugene's position was too strong: it failed.

The allies were still too much hampered with the network of fortresses in their front — Douay, Bouchain, Valenciennes, Condé — to think of advancing into France without further siege operations. They had tried August 18 to seize Marchiennes so as to threaten Douay, but the French had been too watchful. Deciding to complete the turning of the enemy's position then compelled them to resort to the siege of Mons, which lay well beyond Villars' right. This fortress, with Valenciennes, Douay and some minor ones, which could be observed in case of an advance, alone remained to protect the French frontier at this point. But a passage of the Haine, the line of which was essential to secure the siege of Mons, must be had, and Orkney was dispatched August 31 to St. Ghislain to get hold of the crossing. This likewise failed, but another expedition was sent out under the prince of Hesse-Cassel, who on September 3, with four thousand foot and sixty squadrons of horse, after a march of forty-nine miles in fifty-six hours, seized the passage at Obourg and Havré east of Mons. Marlborough at once ordered this gain to be followed up, occupied the heights of Jemappes west of the fortress, thus turned Villars' long lines, which he had been so laboriously constructing for months, and was enabled safely to invest Mons from the French side. The Tournay forces then passed the Scheldt, marched rapidly up the right bank of the Haine, crossed at Obourg and Havré, and made the investment of Mons secure. Villars did nothing more; and about this time gallant Boufflers, though his senior, came to the army to serve under his orders, anxious solely to add his efforts to the success of the French arms.

So soon as Villars perceived that the allies had laid siege to Mons, it was evident to him that his stronghold was of no further value. He had received from Versailles orders to prevent the siege of Mons even at the risk of a general

engagement; had drawn in a large body of troops at Valenciennes, had crossed the Scheldt there, and on September 4 had reached the Honneau; and September 8 he moved by his right still further towards the east, purposing to attack the allies under the walls of the fortress. In order to reach Mons, he chose to pass through the intervening forests by the gap of Aulnois, and on September 9 moved in this direction.

Every one was surprised at the ease with which the lines that had cost such time and labor were rendered useless, — no person more so than Villars. He had expected an attack, but was ignorant as to where it might fall; and the seizure by Hesse-Cassel of the crossing of the Haine first instructed him. The outposts of the allies had been thrown out to the Trouille; and as Villars moved onward, his van of cavalry struck these outposts September 4. Fearing lest he had the entire allied army before him, he did not take measures to attack, though the moment was opportune. With a little more speed, indeed, Villars would have caught the allies separated, but when he found the enemy's van in his immediate front, he arrested his advance. At this moment the allies, taking out the forces at Mons and Tournay, would scarcely have equaled Villars; but he credited them with much over one hundred thousand men and one hundred guns, and declining to attack he took up a defensive position. This was unlike Villars.

When two armies are *en face* manœuvring towards battle, the one who first attacks will in two cases out of three strike the enemy before he is quite ready, and had Villars known all the facts, he might have made a marked gain by assuming a sharp offensive. But he preferred to utilize his time in strengthening his position. Though usually the attacking party, at this time the French had adopted the fashion of defensive battles, — a thing less suited to the Gallic character

than the impetuosity of assault. They had been made cautious by the vigor of the allied generals.

On September 7, having learned that Villars had sat down near Malplaquet and that he had fighting orders, the allies moved forward, leaving a small force to observe Mons. In a number of columns, headed by Eugene and Marlborough and so disposed as to cut off from the French the avenues of approach to Mons through the forest-gaps, the allies debouched into the plain of Quarégnon. Unless Villars retired, a battle must supervene.

Villars had a good army, on which he had spent much time and effort, homogeneous, well-rested, in good spirits, and able in every sense. Among the officers serving under him no less than twelve became marshals of France. He had no idea of declining battle. He may have outnumbered the allies by five thousand men; the forces are variously stated, both in organizations and numbers. Kausler gives them in one place as: Allies, one hundred and thirty-nine battalions, two hundred and fifty-two squadrons, one hundred and five guns; total ninety-three thousand men. French and Bavarians, one hundred and thirty battalions, two hundred and sixty squadrons, eighty guns; total ninety-five thousand men. In another place he quotes the allies at ninety thousand men; the French at eighty-one thousand.

The theatre of the immediate operations is a square inclosed by Mons, Quiévrain, Bavay, Givry, and bounded by the Haine on the north, and the Trouille and Honneau on the east and west. On the south were a number of brooks.

The terrain of Malplaquet is a plateau some two hundred feet above the low grazing-land of the Trouille. At that day so many woods covered the ground that it could not be bettered for defense. The village of Malplaquet lies in open ground at the summit of this plateau, and from here the

brooks flow either towards the Trouille or towards the Hon. The brooks cut well into the surface of the country ; in places, as at Aulnois and Blaregnies, running through deep ravines. The ridges between the brooks are marked. To the right of Malplaquet as one looks towards Mons stretches the great wood of Lanière ; to the left, the forest of Taisnières, often called the wood of Blangies. In the many accounts of the battle, the woods are variously named, often breeding much confusion. Between and beyond these woods lies open ground, which, separated by another small wooded stretch, makes two avenues of approach, the left one being the "wolf-gap," the right one the gap of Aulnois.

In the allied army there were two separate corps ; but each was instinct with the same spirit of generous rivalry which inspired the two commanders. Eugene was on the right of the allies with about two fifths of the joint forces ; Marlborough was on the left with the larger half.

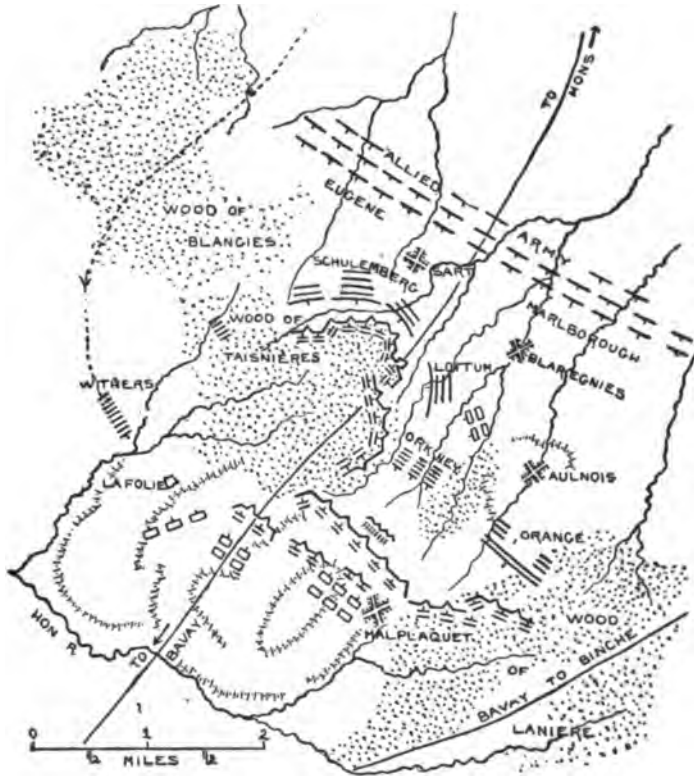
From the windmill of Sart, on an eminence some three miles from Malplaquet, whither, with a big escort, they had ridden to reconnoitre, the allied commanders on September 9 perceived the French army at Malplaquet, where it had occupied the woods and the plain between. Marlborough at once ordered his wing, the left, forward, and took position athwart the gaps, penetrating so close to the French line as to bring about a smart exchange. Both generals were for immediate attack ; Eugene the more so, for Marlborough was held back by the Dutch deputies, who insisted on waiting until a belated column of nineteen battalions and ten squadrons under Count Lottum could arrive from Tournay, and also until St. Ghislain was taken, so that the allies might have a secure crossing over the Haine in their rear. All this was the more readily accomplished because Villars, on perceiving the enemy in force in his front, withdrew his outlying detach-

ments. On September 10 St. Ghislain was taken by escalade ; the Tournay troops came up ; and so soon as the French retired from the Haine, Eugene advanced his, the right, wing and took place in prolongation of Marlborough's line.

What had been gained by the delay was more than twice offset by the time afforded Villars to intrench. His men had recently been trained to just this work, and they lost no time in making their position impregnable. The edge of the wood of Taisnières became a fortress, and the artillery in front of the two gaps lay in such defenses that it could scarcely be taken, while, trained as it was, down a gentle slope towards the allied position, it admirably covered everything in its front. Abatis was laid before every intrenchment ; redoubts arose as by magic, topped by palisades ; and the troops were protected by stockades placed wherever the ground allowed and with much skill. In the intrenchments which lay across the gaps there were left intervals, through which the cavalry might debouch. To the works on the edge of the wood of Taisnières the brooks acted as a ditch, and the left was protected by a swampy stream-head. Batteries which should give a cross-fire on the two approaches were set up ; a single one of twenty guns stood in the centre. The place was as desperate a spot to assault as the Bloody Angle. It was called, and in truth was, a "trouée d'enfer." Its one fault was being cramped.

The ground was such as to make the French position a peculiar one. The approach to Malplaquet itself was admirably defended, and the edge of the Forest of Taisnières was held so as to throw the French left almost a mile beyond the centre, like a species of outwork. On the right, through the wood of Lanière, ran the Bavay-Binche turnpike ; and though the edge of the wood near Malplaquet was fortified, and the works leaned on the sources of the Honneau, which

were rather low and swampy, it does not appear that the road was held in force, a fact which would have permitted the French right to be easily turned. But no advantage



Battle of Malplaquet.

was taken of this fact; front attacks and hard fighting were the order of the day. Throughout the battle the assault was practically one in front, mainly by the right, with a feint which became a real attack on the French right, but in effect all along the line.

Villars had generously given the post of honor, on the

right, to Marshal Boufflers, and himself took the left. D'Artagnan commanded the front line of the right; Legal that of the left. Alberghatti had general charge of the left.

On the 10th such part of the allied army as was in position indulged in a cannonade, duly replied to by the French. To aid in the attack finally appointed for the 11th, the force which Lottum had left under Withers, and which was coming up from Tournay, was instructed to cross at St. Ghislain and then to march through the wood of Blangies, so as near La Folie to fall on the French extreme left and make a diversion in favor of the main attack. The latter, by the battle orders, was to come from Eugene's corps: Baron Schulemburg was to force his way on the French left into the wood of Taisnières with forty battalions of infantry, while on his left Count Lottum was to attack the same line of intrenchments with twenty-two battalions, which would crowd the enemy at an angle to Schulemburg's onset. Half an hour later, an assault by the prince of Orange with thirty-one battalions on the French right was to be made to occupy Villars' attention; but Eugene's attack was to be the main one, intended to crush the salient left of the enemy. Schulemburg and Lottum were to draw up with a front such as the ground dictated. Lord Orkney, with fifteen battalions, was to advance towards the gap, but not beyond the point reached by Lottum, on a line with whom he was to keep. In other words, he was to remain in reserve until he could attack with success. It is said that these orders were later somewhat changed, but the course of the battle ran in accordance with them. The day was the anniversary of Eugene's great victory at Zenta.

On the French side all was enthusiasm. If behind such works as these they could not defeat the allies, what had become of French valor? There could be no doubt as to the result. The enemy would here meet their match.

St. Simon relates that by a clever *ruse de guerre* the allies, under a pretense of parley, got within the Taisnières intrenchments and were able to gauge their strength; but the fact, if such, had small influence on the battle.

At 3 A. M. religious services were held throughout the allied army.

At half-past seven on the eventful day the morning fog cleared away, and the guns opened fire. After an interval, not exceeding an hour, the assaulting columns were started on their perilous errand. The orders to the Dutch, under the prince of Orange, were to wait thirty minutes before assaulting in earnest, and the prince began with only an artillery duel; but Schulemberg forged straight ahead with his forty battalions, while Lottum, with his twenty-two, swinging somewhat round to the right, advanced against the right of the French outworks on the edge of the forest of Taisnières, thus working in towards the left of Schulemberg. Lord Orkney at the same time advanced his fifteen battalions to a point on a line with Lottum and out of range. The cavalry, owing to the awkward terrain, lay in groups in the rear, but had orders to press in after the foot as occasion warranted.

The first assault of Schulemberg, who, in five lines, headed the advance of Eugene's wing, though stoutly delivered, was repulsed, after a struggle of some duration; but headed by Eugene in person, who was ever reckless of his life, and aided by the smart diversion made by General Gauvain with a detached party of three regiments on the extreme French left, a second assault succeeded better, and in not much over an hour the enemy under Alberghatti were driven out of their intrenchments and well back into the wood.

Marlborough meanwhile was sustaining Lottum with a number of squadrons. Some time later than Eugene had penetrated the works, Lottum carried those in his own front,

but after the lapse of a brief holding was expelled by a charge led by Villars in person; whereupon Marlborough, at the head of his cavalry, rode in on the over-eager enemy and recaptured the works, aided by a renewed threat of Lottum. By this time Withers at La Folie began to make some headway, and as Eugene had actually captured the works in his front, it looked as if he would push Villars entirely from the wood of Taisnières.

On the left, meanwhile, where Field-Marshal Tilly was in nominal command, after his half hour's pause the prince of Orange delivered his assault with unequaled ardor. His troops were made up of auxiliaries in the Dutch service, including a Scotch brigade. On the first rush and without a stop the French intrenchments were carried, and had there been a reserve, the French right might have been then and there permanently broken. But the prince had but forty battalions; Boufflers met him in the rear of his works with seventy, turned his guns inward and enfiladed his line, and after an obstinate and bloody struggle the Dutch were thrown out, but in no disorder. The French second line now closed up, and the prince of Orange could make no further headway. He drew off with, it is said, three thousand killed and six thousand wounded, casualties which prove the bitterest kind of fighting. No sooner had they expelled the enemy than the French sallied out of their works and made a gallant advance with heavy columns of foot and horse. There was danger that the allied left would be broken, but Marlborough opportunely came up from the wood of Taisnières, and put in a few Hanoverian battalions to check the French, while Eugene brought some reserves over from the right. The matter was reëstablished, and Boufflers withdrew within his works.

Villars believed that, by giving up the advanced position

of his left, he would jeopardize his centre, and now resumed the offensive in the wood of Taisnières; and in order to do this with sufficient vigor, he reinforced his left with a number of battalions of foot withdrawn from his centre, — among them the two Irish brigades. Eugene, aided by Withers' diversion, had pressed him so hard that his entire left wing was in peril, and he now pushed his counter attack with the utmost vigor. Lottum called for help, and Marlborough flew to his aid.

Villars had miscalculated the conditions of the battle; his weakening of the centre proved his ruin; the allied commanders soon became aware of it, and were able to take a telling advantage of the lapse. Eugene, who had visited the left to aid the prince of Orange, rejoined his wing and forced the fighting on the right. It was already noon, and Eugene had pushed the French left well through the wood and had joined hands with Withers; and Marlborough now sent the column under Orkney forward to make its way in at the disgarnished French centre, which so far had not been attacked in force. The fighting became hotter than ever. Eugene had had the bulk of the French foot to contend with; though again wounded, he persisted in leading on his men in person, and he made marked progress, which Villars, likewise wounded, was unable to resist. Withers, too, pressed on; and the French left was practically broken. The weakened centre was now open to a stanch assault notwithstanding its intrenchments; it gave way before Orkney's gallant onset and the works were entered. The cavalry followed hard upon the foot, and after getting through the lines, charged in with a will. The French guns were seized and turned on the enemy, who were now crowded into too small a space to be able to act effectively, and were fast losing ground. But Boufflers would not give up the fight. He

headed the *Maison du Roi*, and charging in on the allied horse, completely broke it up; but he was himself in turn broken when he reached the line of Orkney's infantry, which now held the French ramparts, and decimated by point-blank musketry and by the cross-fire of some batteries judiciously if hastily placed, he retired. Once more he collected a column of foot as support to his squadrons and returned to the fray. Time and again was either line forced back, and not until Eugene came up with his reserve cavalry, and Marlborough with his English horse, could Boufflers' noble effort be checked. On the allied left, simultaneously with the centre, Orange and Hesse-Cassel again advanced, took the works on the French right and held them. Ousted from his intrenchments and with his left crushed beyond usefulness, Boufflers saw that his chances were gone. The bloodiest battle of the war was over.

But the gallant French marshal made a masterly retreat to Bavay, in what was, under the circumstances, astonishingly good order. No pursuit could be undertaken by the allies, exhausted by their fearful losses. Though the breaking of the centre threw the French wings off in eccentric directions, they reunited a dozen miles in the rear of Malplaquet. Boufflers carried off all but his dismounted guns; there were losses of flags and guns on both sides.

The wounded were returned by the allies a few days later. The French loss was not over fourteen thousand men. It has been given at eight thousand killed and four thousand five hundred wounded. In such a *mêlée* there was small chance for a wounded man.

The allied loss was fully twenty thousand men. It is stated in the *Memoirs of Count Schulemberg* as follows: Eugene's loss, officers, eighty-nine killed, two hundred and sixty-eight wounded; men, two thousand and ninety-nine killed, three

thousand four hundred and nine wounded; Marlborough's loss, officers (including the Dutch), two hundred and seventy-four killed, seven hundred and twelve wounded; men, three thousand eight hundred and twenty-one killed, nine thousand eight hundred and forty-eight wounded. Total, twenty thousand five hundred and twenty killed and wounded. The official account gives for the infantry alone five thousand five hundred and forty-four killed, and twelve thousand seven hundred and six wounded and missing; add the losses in the cavalry, and the same result is got.

The credit of the victory was equally shared between the prince and the duke. It was Eugene's hearty work on the allied right which induced Villars to disgarnish his centre, and thus enabled Marlborough with a gallant onset to break through where he would have vainly essayed before. What British there were in the battle behaved, as always, with true Anglo-Saxon grit. But the Dutch regiments lost the most heavily, showing determination quite equal to the British battalions.

The battle had been one of prolonged and bloody fighting, in which mere endurance and the persistent courage of Eugene and Marlborough contrived to win.

The French had fought superbly, and the allies had bought the victory dear. Some French accounts of the battle ascribe the defeat to the faulty position. It was rather the stubborn push of the two allied captains. Almost any generals would have retired before they had lost so heavily.

In this battle the allies formed their troops for attack in columns of deployed battalions. The French centre, both horse and foot, used the same formation. The innovation had not been so generally employed before, though by no means new.

It is curious to state that the result of this costly victory

was naught. The allies merely besieged Mons without interference. The trenches were opened September 25; on October 9 a lodgment was made in the covered way; on October 17 the outworks were stormed; and on the 26th the town surrendered. Brabant was entirely occupied.

With Malplaquet, the brilliant part of Marlborough's career came to an end. In this Succession War, he and Prince Eugene had won five splendid victories: three in joint command, Blenheim, Oudenarde and Malplaquet, though at Oudenarde Eugene was without his own troops, but present in person and commanding a part of Marlborough's; and one singly each, Eugene at Turin, Marlborough at Ramillies. Though Eugene had fought and won a number of battles aside from these, as battle-commanders glory may be evenly awarded to each. In their separate victories Marlborough had been opposed by Villeroi at Ramillies, and Eugene by Marsin and the duke of Orleans at Turin. Neither singly had defeated a really able opponent.

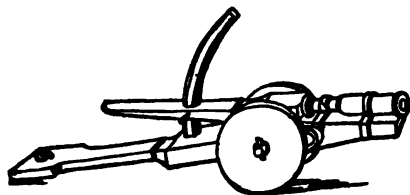
Marlborough is incontestably one of the most splendid military figures of this era of giants. From the battle of Lützen to the battle of Mollwitz, only Turenne and Eugene stand out to share with him equal honors. He had the true battle fervor, and the *coup d'œil* which is allotted to so few generals. He handled large armies with the same ease as he commanded small ones; and no occurrence on the theatre of war or on the battle-field ever threw him off his balance. His strategic plans were often pared down to suit the puny taste of the Dutch deputies; had he been left to his own devices, he might have undertaken larger operations, and we may believe would have conducted them with the same ability which characterized his lesser ones. Opportunity was denied him.

If Marlborough cannot claim to stand among the six great

captains, he may certainly be placed on the first step of the military dais. But his eulogists do his solid reputation no good by such panegyrics as that of Alison, who, after claiming every other success in this war as the work of his hero, goes so far in his homage as to say that "by the succors" — some ten thousand men — "he sent to Eugene, he conquered Italy at Turin."

Marlborough is a splendid enough leader of men, just as he stands, not to make it essential to rob others to clothe him. It is quite as natural that some of the foreign military critics should err in making Eugene the greater soldier of the two; though it is rare that ample justice is not done Marlborough in the annals of the continental writers. He is one of the greatest men of the second rank; but he may not even be said to be *primus inter pares*.

The operations of the French this year were hampered by want of victual, in consequence of a poor harvest, and after Malplaquet, by the wounding of Villars. The operations of the allies after the battle were not remarkable.



Bombard. (15th Century.)

LXIII.

SPAIN. 1704-1710.

THE operations of the War of the Spanish Succession were generally outside of Spain, but in 1704 and 1705 the allies invaded Spain under the Archduke Charles, while the duke of Berwick commanded the army of Philip. In 1706 Lord Galway, for Charles, took Madrid, but Berwick soon drove him back to the coast. In 1707 Galway and Berwick met at Almanza, and the former was defeated; and French reinforcements coming into Spain, the allies were crowded back to Catalonia. Their forces had been too much dispersed. In 1708 and 1709 comparatively little was done; but in 1710 Marshal Stahremberg beat Philip's army on the Ebro and marched to Madrid. Vendome now came into Spain, and he and Stahremberg conducted an admirable campaign, in which the French were fully successful, and the allies were again pushed back to the coast.

ALTHOUGH the great war which had desolated Europe from 1701 to 1714 was caused by the question of who should succeed childless Charles II. on the throne of Spain, yet that peninsula itself saw but a small portion of its horrors. Barring one or two campaigns, there was not much to interest the military student in comparison with the work of the giants in the Netherlands, in Germany and in Italy.

There were no operations there until 1704. Towards the end of 1703 the claimant of Spain under the treaty of partition, the Archduke Charles, with some nine thousand Anglo-Dutch troops, reached Lisbon. Adding to his force the Portuguese militia, he undertook in 1704 to defend the frontier of Portugal against the army of France and Spain under the duke of Berwick, a natural son of James II. In this he succeeded, but an attempt to advance to Madrid miscarried.

During this same year Gibraltar fell to the fleet of England and Holland. In 1705 the archduke landed in Catalonia, where he gained a foothold, roused the Spaniards to insurrection against Philip V., and aided by the gallant exploit of Lord Peterborough, captured Barcelona; but this city was soon again laid under siege by the Franco-Spanish army.



Spain.

In 1706, after the arrival of a British fleet, the archduke drove the French with loss from the siege of Barcelona and made it his base, while the enemy retired to Madrid. Lord Galway, with the Anglo-Portuguese army, captured many strong places, and in June took Madrid and reduced all middle Spain for Charles, who was proclaimed as king. But this success did not last long. The jealousies usual in Spain put an end to Galway's activity; and Berwick, aided by

Philip's adherents in Andalusia and the Castiles, managed to regain Madrid and push the English general out of nearly all his conquests and towards Portugal ; while Charles returned to the eastern coast. Berwick had thus manœuvred himself into a position between his opponents' two armies. Still, despite these losses, the archduke, at the opening of 1707, held Catalonia, Arragon and Valencia, that is, the north-east corner of Spain, with a force of forty-five thousand men under Galway, who had also returned to the eastern coast. Berwick had nearly forty thousand men, and fourteen thousand more were on the way from France. In April, 1707, Galway concentrated some thirty-three thousand men in the province of Valencia ; he was active and enterprising, but he accomplished nothing of importance. He harbored the idea of moving on Madrid, but Berwick, with an equal number of men, moved on Almanza, a position from which he might threaten Galway's communications with Barcelona. Galway saw that he must do battle for his holding, certainly so if he would advance on the capital ; he likewise marched to Almanza, where he drew up in two lines, with squadrons in between his battalions of the first line. Berwick had also two lines, but his foot was in the centre, his horse on the flanks. Galway opened the attack ; but his hermaphrodite first line did not work well, probably from inexperience in this formation. The cavalry attacked twice, but, after some work, was twice broken by the French horse, and found refuge under the fire of the foot. Finally Berwick strengthened his cavalry wings with foot from the second line, advanced for the third time, and succeeded in breaking Galway's left wing. In pushing back the French foot, Galway's centre had got itself forward in a salient from the main line, and somewhat separated from the right, which enabled Berwick to take the infantry in flank where the gap occurred, and by advancing

his right smartly he secured the victory. None of the accounts of the battle is very clear; but the English, as always, fought stanchly, and their allies left them in the lurch. Galway was cut up, with a loss of five thousand killed and wounded and ten thousand prisoners; he lost all his artillery and train, and retired through the province of Valencia towards Barcelona, with but sixteen thousand men. Berwick placed some garrisons in Valencia, and followed Galway with twenty-three thousand men, forcing him back across the Ebro through Tortosa to Lerida. Philip V. was now king in earnest.

About the same time the duke of Orleans came by way of Navarre to Spain, and with nineteen thousand men advanced to Saragossa, where Berwick, crossing the Ebro, joined him. This made thirty-two thousand men, and they shortly drove the English out of Lerida and back into Catalonia, after which both armies went into winter-quarters.

The error of the archduke had been to disperse his none too large force of forty-five thousand men in various garrisons, so as to be unable to meet the enemy in sufficient strength. Had he kept his army in full force and taken his stand between Berwick and the duke of Orleans,—say in the Tudela country,—he might have beaten either in succession. In like manner, had Berwick got the duke of Orleans to move down towards the lower Ebro, and he himself at once followed up Galway, between them they might have captured the entire body.

Berwick was now ordered to the Netherlands; and the duke of Orleans was unable to profit by the gains of 1707. Though he had some forty thousand men in Catalonia, and was faced by Stahremberg with not much over half the number, he did nothing during 1708 and 1709 but besiege a few fortresses; so that Stahremberg even threatened to penetrate

into the interior. At the opening of 1710 Stahremberg's forces rose to twenty-six thousand men, and a Portuguese army of thirty thousand foot and two thousand horse assembled at the fortress Elvas ; while the forces of Philip V. were sensibly diminished by drafts for the defense of the French frontiers. He had not much exceeding thirty-five thousand men all told ; and after detaching a suitable force against the Portuguese to Estremadura, another to Andalusia, and making sundry smaller details, he had less than twenty thousand with which to operate in Catalonia. The early manœuvres were more for the purpose of collecting victual and of devastating the land to prevent the enemy's so doing, than for any other apparent object ; but Stahremberg finally determined to march on Madrid, join the Portuguese, and definitely place the crown on Charles' head.

Advancing in pursuance of his design, he won a handsome advantage on the Segre, and drove the Spaniards back to Lerida, in so much disorder that had he followed them up he might have destroyed them. But waiting for victual and material, he remained inactive for two weeks, when he advanced on Saragossa. This gave Philip time to repair his losses and to move up the right bank of the Ebro to oppose his passage ; but Stahremberg threw a pontoon bridge over the river, crossed, attacked the Spanish army, which numbered but nineteen thousand men to his own twenty-four thousand, and beat it badly with loss of half its force. The wreck, nine thousand strong, retired to Tudela, and thence via Aranda and Valladolid to Salamanca, which had been made the rendezvous for a new Spanish army that Vendome had just come to organize. With the new army the French marshal hoped to march to Almaraz on the Tagus, and prevent the junction of the Portuguese and Stahremberg ; or at least give them battle.

The archduke should have devoted his energies to preventing the formation of this new army ; but he was eager to do great things, and deserve as well as get the crown ; and Stahremberg could not restrain him. He chose to march on Madrid, which he took, as well as Toledo, and parceled out his forces uselessly. The Portuguese attempted to advance towards Madrid, but the appearance of a Spanish force of twelve thousand men in Estremadura headed them off, and they returned to Elvas.

Vendome, on the other hand, went sensibly to work. He began by sending out small raiding parties of horse to cut the archduke's communications with Saragossa, and capture his convoys. This, indeed, he accomplished so frequently that provision grew scarce in Madrid. By this time Vendome's army (Philip was formally in command) had grown to twenty-seven thousand men, and with these he made a clever march on the bridge of Almaraz over the Tagus, and pushed a large force of cavalry to Talavera. This, as Vendome had calculated it would be, was the end of any coöperation of the half-hearted Portuguese, who summarily left ; Stahremberg could no longer hope to hold himself, and began his retreat to Catalonia with sixteen thousand men. He moved in three columns, each a day's march apart. Vendome followed him sharply, and at Brihuega, on the river Henares, cut off Stanhope and five thousand men who formed the rear-guard of his army, and who had kept no outposts to notify him of danger. Stahremberg quickly turned in his tracks, but was two days too late at Brihuega to rescue his lieutenant ; and Vendome, not permitting him to retire from the vicinity without fighting, attacked him at Villa Viciosa, near by. The battle here was drawn ; but Stahremberg hastened his retreat, with less than ten thousand men he now had left, to Saragossa and thence to Catalonia. He was really in grave

danger, for Marshal Noailles was advancing across the Pyrenees on the east with twenty-seven thousand men, and might fall on his rear and completely destroy him. But Noailles contented himself with besieging Gerona in lieu of advancing to the Ebro. Vendome followed up Stahremberg, and, crossing the Segre, went into winter-quarters.

These operations are interesting. Vendome's work was especially handsome. He had not only raised an army, but, by skillful manœuvres, had separated the allies, had ousted Stahremberg from Madrid, and had driven his enemy back to the sea with a loss of two thirds his force.



Heavy Cavalryman.
(18th Century.)

LXIV.

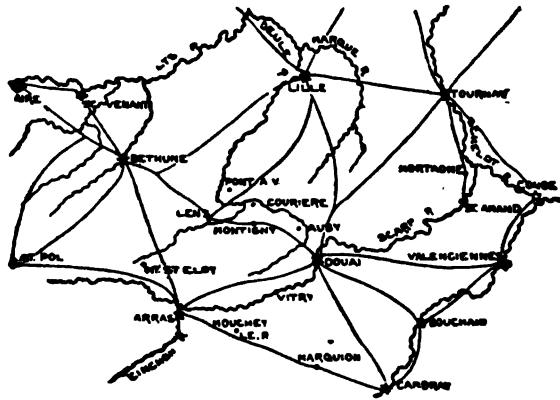
VILLARS AGAINST MARLBOROUGH AND EUGENE. 1710-1712.

IN 1710 the allies conducted a war of sieges. Douay was first invested, after breaking through the French fortified lines. Villars came to its relief, but did not push the allies to battle, preferring to protect Arras from attack. Having taken Douay, the allies in fact turned on Arras, but Villars headed them off. They then invested Bethune, proposing to capture all the strong places up to the coast, with a view to a new base. Villars took up a position in the Hesdin line, and after Bethune fell, the allies moved on and captured St. Venant and Aire. But they were no nearer Paris. In 1711 Bouchain was captured. In 1712 the English, with peace in sight, acted on the defensive; Eugene captured Quesnoy, but failed before Landrecies, owing to a handsome attack by Villars on his communications. In 1713 Eugene defended the Rhine against Villars with twice his force. Peace supervened.

IN 1710 the allies raised their forces to one hundred and forty thousand men, of whom eighty thousand took the field. In April Eugene and Marlborough met at Tournay, where their several columns rendezvoused out of winter-quarters, and opened the campaign by the recapture of Mortagne, which had just been seized by the French, and was essential as a step to attacking Douay. The French still held the strong line created by Villars the year before; and this had to be forced before Douay could be thought of. Speed being of the essence, the army advanced in two columns, the right under Marlborough, the left under Eugene. Marlborough crossed the Deule at Pont à Vendin, unopposed; Eugene, finding that he would have to fight for his passage at Pont d'Auby, fled to the right and crossed at Courrière. The two columns reunited at Lens on April 21, and the French under

Montesquieu retired so hurriedly behind the Scarpe at Vitry as to forfeit much of their baggage. Marlborough crossed the Scarpe and closed in on Douay on the right bank, while Eugene remained on the left bank and invested it from the north. The French then retired to Cambray.

Douay had been captured by the French in 1667. It was a large and powerful fortress, the work of Vauban, astride the Scarpe, whose inundations made approach to it difficult.



Douay Region.

It was not of the newest construction, but still a strong place of the first class, and the ditch was wide and full, and the covered way excellent. It had eight thousand men in garrison, under Alberghatti. The trenches were opened May 4-5. On the 9th a big siege-train arrived from Tournay; on the 11th the batteries were pushed up to the covered way. The danger to the fortress caused Villars to be sent to its relief with ninety thousand men. Berwick was with the army under special orders to report to the king. Assembling at Cambray, Villars, under protection of a feint on the allies by way of Bouchain, moved by his left via Arras across the Scarpe and into the Lens plain, facing towards Douay, with reserves

at Mt. St. Eloy, intending battle. In anticipation of what might occur, the allies had fortified two lines, one facing east and one west, for the protection of Douay; and so soon as Villars' manœuvres became clear, Marlborough and Eugene depleted their Douay lines, advanced to meet him with sixty thousand men, and on May 30 took up the position on the west of Douay, which extended from Vitry north to Montigny, backing on the fortress. A strong outpost at Pont à Vendin protected the right. Here they drew up for battle, which seemed inevitable, as Villars never lacked pugnacity. On June 1 he advanced to the front of the position of the allies, whose rôle was, as covering the siege of Douay, necessarily a defensive one. On reconnoitring, both Berwick and Villars deemed the line too strong to be forced. The French retired June 4, hoping that the allied generals would follow; and finally took up a position backing on Arras; and the siege went on, in the presence of a relieving army of five-score thousand men! By mid-June the fortress was *in extremis*, and Villars made another feint as if to relieve it by the right bank of the Scarpe. Marlborough barred his advance and Villars again retired, and in order to prevent the allies, after capturing Douay, from further penetrating into France, took up a position with his right on Cambray and his left out towards Arras. On June 19 the prince of Orange failed in an assault, but on the 24th made a lodgment. The sap had reached the counterscarp, and on the 26th Alberghatti surrendered. He had lost three thousand five hundred men; the allies eight thousand.

Early in July, after a short rest, Eugene and Marlborough advanced on Arras, the last of the triple line of French fortresses at that point. But Villars had ably placed himself to prevent their advance. His left was on the Crinchon; his centre from Marquion to Mouchy le Preux; his right between

Valenciennes and Bouchain. He had nearly one hundred thousand men and one hundred and thirty guns; and so soon as he saw that the allies were aiming for Arras, he moved by his left so as to prevent them from reaching the place to invest it. They then decided to lay siege to Bethune, a fortress whose capture would lead probably to the fall of Aire and St. Venant, and thus open up communication with the coast; and they invested the place July 15. Villars became nervous for the safety of Montreuil, Hesdin and Dourlens, towns in Picardy, the second of which places the allies indeed desired to seize; and again moved by his left to a position with his right on Arras and with his left stretching out towards St. Pol; and here he threw up a new line of defense. He did not care to risk a battle, which, if lost, might now be fatal for France. For the same reason it has been suggested that the allies might have sought battle to marked advantage; but they did not. Perhaps the losses of Malplaquet were deterrent. Bethune, though well garrisoned and well provisioned, fell at the end of August. The details need not be given.

As Villars lay so strongly posted that the allies did not wish to attack him in his lines, they now resorted to the siege of St. Venant and Aire. These towns lay on the Lys, which river their possession would open, and they might form the base for a movement on Calais and Boulogne, which had been in contemplation. On September 2 the allies moved forward as if to reconnoitre Villars' lines; and then suddenly filing to the right, marched on St. Venant and Aire along such a route as to prevent Villars from interfering with the operations. Both places were quickly invested. St. Venant was very strong and had eight thousand garrison, but despite the loss of an important convoy coming to the allies from Ghent, which Villars cleverly captured or destroyed, it fell

the end of September. Aire held out till November 12. The capture of these towns, however, brought the allies no nearer Paris; and before Douay, Bethune, Aire and St. Venant, the allies had lost twelve thousand killed, thirteen thousand wounded, and seven thousand prisoners or missing, — a loss which could ill be afforded. They had captured four of the strong places of the French, with nearly thirty thousand men; but they had made no essential progress in this campaign. Louis' intrigues were bringing peace nearer, and the military success had not been brilliant. It was one of the old-model campaigns, the knot of which a victory would have cut. But political matters had been going against Marlborough at home; his hands were even more tied than usual; Eugene suffered from the same cause; and the campaign lacked vigor accordingly.

The campaign of 1711 in the Netherlands was conducted under difficulties. The change of ministry in England had brought Marlborough into disfavor, and we have Eugene's testimony to show that this reacted upon his military ardor. The new ministry was set for peace, but allowed war to go on. Eugene was ordered to the Rhine to protect the election of a new emperor in Frankfort, and took twenty-three thousand men from the army.

France now had but her third line of fortresses left, of which Arras and Cambray were of the first order. Villars had created another long line of defense, extending from the Canche all the way to Namur, along the Scarpe, Sensée, Scheldt and Sambre. Marlborough had cut out for the year's work the capture of Bouchain, Arras and Le Quesnoy, hoping to winter near the French frontier and invade France in 1712. Bouchain was his first objective, to reach which he must break through Villars' lines. These were too strong to assault, and Marlborough tried ruse. Moving by his right

from the position to which he had advanced south of the Scarpe, he crossed at Vitry and marched towards Bethune. Villars moved by his left on a parallel route to a position west of Arras. Here Marlborough made a feint to attack him, and having convinced him that he was about to do so, under cover of a cavalry demonstration on Villars' left he marched rapidly back, crossed the Scarpe at Vitry, and easily breaking through the French lines, passed the Scheldt at Etrum and invested Bouchain. Part of his column had marched thirty-six miles in sixteen hours. Villars sought to entice him into battle near Cambray, but to no purpose, though it has been thought that Marlborough would have done well to fight. Invested August 17, Bouchain fell September 11. Beyond this nothing was done in 1711. In the way of manœuvring, part of the campaign had been brilliant; but it was not otherwise so; nor had its activity been comparable to some of Eugene's.

In 1712 peace-negotiations were begun at Utrecht, and the English army received orders to act on the defensive; Prince Eugene, who succeeded Marlborough as commander-in-chief of the Dutch forces, being meanwhile under orders to continue the offensive, the two allies for the first time could not act in unison. They had possession of Antwerp, Oudenarde, Tournay, Ath, Mons, Dendermonde, Menin, Lille, Bethune, Aire, St. Venant, Douay and Bouchain. They could well have pushed into Artois and Picardy, and have taken Boulogne and Calais, as proposed two years before. But Eugene was seriously hampered by his dealings with the Dutch as well as those with the English allies, and was unable to carry out his own ideas. It would have been much more in his style, and indeed he frequently urged the Dutch deputies, to seek to try conclusions with Villars in a great battle rather than to sit down to a series of sieges, especially

as a battle lost would now all but destroy France. The plan of 1710 was abandoned, and Eugene chose as a starting-point for his march into France the other flank, because the country was more fruitful and easier, and because Quesnoy and Landrecies were far less serious obstacles than Arras and Cambray.

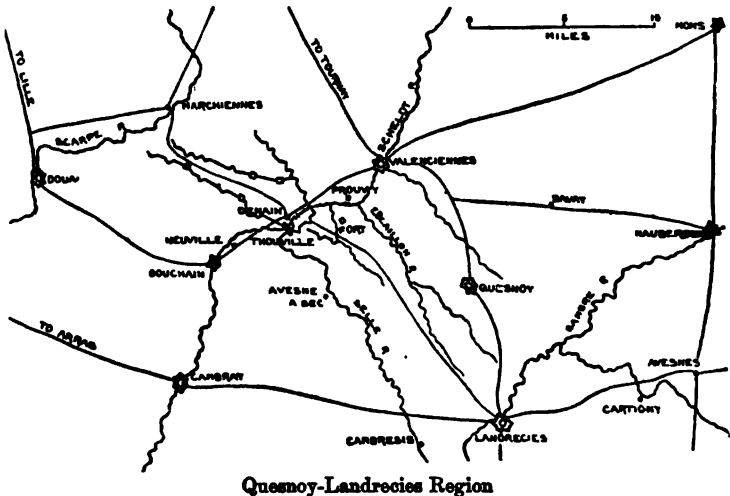
Eugene assembled the troops early in April in the Douay-Marchiennes country. Lord Ormond was in command of the English contingent. The total force was some one hundred and twenty thousand men and one hundred and thirty-six guns. Villars had perhaps twenty thousand less, and lay from the headwaters of the Scheldt at Le Catelet along the left bank of the river to Cambray, and thence stretching out towards Arras. These two strong places he was bound to preserve from investment if possible. But his position left Condé, Valenciennes, Quesnoy and Landrecies outside his scheme of defense.

Towards the end of May Eugene crossed the Scheldt above Bouchain. Ormond advanced with him; but he had secret orders, the fruit of the recent negotiations, to take part in neither a battle nor a siege, and of this fact knowledge had been afforded Villars, — bad faith little creditable to the British ministry. The French were in poor military case; but this treachery saved them harmless.

Prince Eugene opened the siege of Quesnoy June 8, and undertaking, as a further menace, to devastate the French borders, so as to intimidate the population and to keep his army at their cost, he sent twelve hundred horse into Champagne and Lorraine, while from the Rhine, at the same time, another raiding party was sent into the Metz region.

Eugene had for some time suspected the bad faith of the English, but was scarcely prepared for so bald a breach of common military honor as was contained in the secret instruc-

tions to Ormond. Had he not been wise, he might have got into a situation where Villars could have destroyed him. About midsummer the matter came to a head, and the English left the army; the other allies kept faith; and having, July 4, captured Quesnoy, Eugene moved forward to the siege of Landrecies. He marched over the Escaillon to the Selle, and sent the prince of Dessau ahead with thirty battalions and forty squadrons to shut in Landrecies. His main



force to cover the siege was placed between the Sambre and the Scheldt, and his chief magazines were in Marchiennes, behind the Scheldt and the Scarpe. To hold communications with these places, there had, at Denain and at Prouvy over the Scheldt, been built bridges and on the right bank bridge-heads; and between Denain and Marchiennes a double line of works running nearly the entire distance of ten miles, behind which the trains could safely move. These were part of Villars' old lines, and the men called them "The Road to Paris." Denain had works all around it, and a garrison of

thirteen thousand men under Albemarle; Marchiennes had four thousand. Prince Eugene's communications with his magazines were thus apparently protected; but they were not actually so. The position was strategically faulty, in that the depot of all supplies lay beyond the right flank in prolongation of the front of the position. It was quite against Eugene's advice that he was thus posted; Marchiennes had been selected by the Dutch because of its water approaches by the Lys and Scheldt. After the capture of Quesnoy, Eugene would have been glad to move the depots thither, but the Dutch looked at the matter from the economic standpoint solely, and not from the military; they declined the expense of moving the depots, alleging that Douay and Bouchain sufficiently protected the line, which ran behind the Selle.

Villars received orders from Versailles to compel Prince Eugene to raise the siege of Landrecies. He had long been ready to so act on his own judgment; for Prince Eugene was now much weaker than when he had the English contingent with him; actually weaker than Villars. Moreover, the French army was concentrated and in good order, while Eugene's was in several detachments and much spread. Villars had reconnoitred the Landrecies position and Eugene's position behind the Selle, and found both too strong to assault. But he saw that he could easily make an attack on Denain or Marchiennes, and this he began to consider. Although the niceties of strategic manœuvring had not yet been studied as they were after Jomini began his work of showing why Napoleon did what he did, yet a problem so simple as this of necessity forced itself on a man of such military intelligence as Villars, and he soon formed his plan.

In order to be sure of success, Villars must first draw

Eugene's attention away from his right flank. He crossed the Scheldt, began to prepare military roads towards the Sambre, advanced towards the headwaters of the Selle, and July 22 camped at Cambresis and south of it. This operation convinced Eugene that his siege of Landrecies was threatened. Villars further made a number of demonstrations against the allied left on the circumvallation lines at Landrecies, and instituted such preparations as looked like a serious attack in that quarter; he sent a cavalry party to Cartigny to make a lively demonstration; he issued orders for a march against Landrecies, of which Eugene got notice by his spies. In the belief that the manoeuvre was a real one, Eugene concentrated a large part of his infantry force on his left, and gave undivided attention to the siege works. Villars left a small force to engage him, detailed strong cavalry parties to observe Bouchain and hold the fords of the Selle, so as to prevent Albemarle from discovering his march; filled the country full of his hussars; and on the evening of July 23, sending his pontoons suitably guarded to Neuville, three miles from Bouchain, he marched unnoticed with the main force in close columns in their rear. A demonstration was made at the same time on the Landrecies lines to arrest the attention of Prince Eugene. Villars crossed the Scheldt at Neuville early July 24. Albemarle must have been singularly careless in his outpost service, for up to 7 A. M., when he discovered the marching French column at Avesne le Sec, he had no information of their movements. Even Bouchain had sent him no word of the passage at Neuville, or else the messengers had been picked up.

Going ahead, the French cavalry had at once fallen on and taken the southerly line of the Road to Paris; while the commandant of Valenciennes headed part of the garrison to take the northerly line. When Villars came up with his

infantry, he found the lines in his possession and Denain open to assault. Upon this town he at once directed his march.

So soon as notified, Eugene had speedily reached the ground, had ordered Albemarle to hold the post at all hazards, and he would within a few hours sustain him with a heavy force; and had galloped back towards Landrecies to collect troops. But he counted too much on Albemarle, or on any delay on the part of Villars. So soon as he reached the ground, Villars drew up his column of attack. According to some authorities, he organized eight columns two hundred paces apart; according to others, he drew up in one column of forty deployed battalions — the Denain column — and firing not a shot, but standing three volleys from the allies, he charged in with the bayonet and swept over the intrenchments like a flood. The resistance was as naught. The allied force was overthrown and largely driven into the river, with a loss of eight thousand men. The French lost a bare five hundred.

For the second time in modern warfare, an attack solely with cold steel had been successful, — the first time at the battle of Speyerbach in 1708. Villars deserves great credit for his speedy and bold attack; he knew he had not a minute to lose, and as a fact Eugene came up too late: Albemarle had been overmatched; the damage was already done. Having taken Denain, and the bridge and redoubt at Prouvy, Villars turned back and captured Marchiennes on the 30th, with all its garrison, material, food and two hundred pieces of ordnance. Eugene was compelled to raise the siege of Landrecies, and retired by Mons on Tournay. Villars incorporated in his army the garrisons of Ypres, Dunkirk and other sea fortresses, which, now that the English were out of the game, were of no more use; and was by twenty thousand men stronger than Eugene; and having the advan-

tage of moral gain of victory, he ended the campaign by besieging and recapturing Douay, Quesnoy and Bouchain.

Villars earned unstinted praise for this handsome piece of work, which cost little in men, made great gains, and quite upset the calculations of the enemy. It was at a moment, too, when Louis XIV. was hard pushed, and it had a marked influence on the negotiations for peace.

The emperor would none of the Peace of Utrecht, which England and Holland had made with France. Prince Eugene, in 1713, was ordered to operate along the Rhine from Switzerland to the boundary of Holland, the Ettlingen lines to be the central point of his scheme. Villars lay on the other side with one hundred and thirty thousand men, and after some manœuvring began the siege of Landau. Prince Eugene had sixty thousand men at Ettlingen, and might, perhaps, have crossed the Rhine to hamper the operation. But he lacked numbers; Villars anticipated him, put over a division near Fort Louis June 4, sent some horse to Rastadt, and concentrated his force on the right bank opposite as a demonstration; while he himself returned to the left bank, captured Speyer, blockaded the Philipsburg bridge-head, where he made a fortified camp, and took that at Mannheim, cut Landau off from all communications with the Rhine, sent eighty squadrons to Worms, captured Kaiserslautern, and thus, by every means, forestalled a crossing by Eugene. Two months later (August 20) Landau surrendered. Villars' army still increased, while Prince Eugene received no reinforcements, and was forced to keep to a quiet defensive. He feared a crossing at Freiburg, and sent General Vobonne thither with eighteen thousand men to reoccupy the old fortified lines. Villars dispatched forty battalions to Freiburg and drove Vobonne out of his defenses; the latter left twelve battalions in Freiburg and retired to Rothweil.

Villars began the siege of Freiburg, which lasted many weeks, but finally, on November 13, the town fell, and the garrison received free exit. Both parties now went into winter-quarters, and Eugene and Villars began to negotiate. The result was that the Peace of Rastadt was concluded in the spring.

Prince Eugene in this campaign had but half of Villars' troops, and was unable to effectuate anything. He remained in the Ettlingen lines, strictly on the defensive, but was constantly watchful and active in small war. He did well to confine Villars to the capture of Landau and Freiburg, and to prevent his penetrating beyond the Rhine country, as with his huge army he well might do.

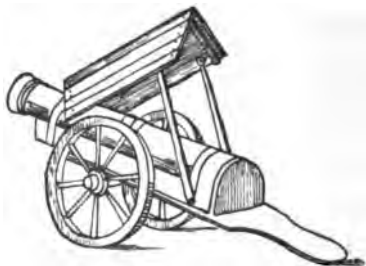
A new war breaking out with Turkey in 1716, Prince Eugene was put in chief command of one hundred and twenty-five thousand men in Hungary, and a flotilla on the Danube. After some preliminary manœuvring with sixty thousand men, near Peterwardein, Eugene attacked the Turks, who had nearly one hundred and fifty thousand. On August 5, after a hotly contested battle, in which Eugene's left was successful, his right defeated, but saved by cavalry charges on the Turkish flank, the imperial army won a very splendid victory. The Turks fled to Belgrade with six thousand killed, the loss of one hundred and sixty-four guns, one hundred and fifty flags and other trophies. Prince Eugene lost three thousand killed and two thousand wounded.

Next year Eugene captured Belgrade after a handsome campaign, in which he attacked and defeated under its walls a force sixfold his own, and received his thirteenth and last wound on the field of battle.

Much of the brilliant work of Eugene was against the Turks, a subject of marked interest, but beyond the scope of our subject. From 1718 to 1737 he was not in active service.

The last two campaigns of Prince Eugene in the war of the Polish Succession were conducted against very superior numbers, but were weak. The brave and able soldier was feeling the weight of his seventy-one years. He had done enough to send his name down to posterity as one of the brightest in the annals of generalship.

In this war, young Frederick, Crown Prince of Prussia, was for a few weeks present at the headquarters of the splendid old warrior, an occurrence which pleasantly links the era which Marlborough and Eugene so highly distinguished with the magnificent era of the Last of the Kings.



Roofed Gun. (15th Century.)

LXV.

CHARLES XII. 1700-1709.

DURING the War of the Spanish Succession two remarkable men were in conflict in northeastern Europe : Peter the Great, who made Russia, and Charles XII., who undid Sweden. Charles inherited much of the Vasa ability, but lacked its common sense. On his accession Sweden was threatened by Denmark, Poland and Russia. Charles was a mere lad, but he showed wonderful ability. He attacked and brought Denmark to terms, and then, turning on Russia, defeated Peter at Narva in a most brilliant engagement. Hence he turned against Poland, fought his way across the Dwina, and beat the Poles at Klissow. In the course of a couple of years, despite the aid of Saxony, Charles completely reduced Poland, and in 1706 invaded Saxony, dictated terms to both countries, and threatened to take a hand in the Succession War. But foregoing this, he turned again on Russia. Peter had well used his respite in creating an army; Charles ventured too far into the bleak plains of Russia, was sadly used by the winter of 1708, and in 1709 was wholly defeated at Pultowa, and became a refugee among the Turks. He later returned to Sweden; but his country, meanwhile, had been despoiled of her glory. Charles XII. would have been a great soldier had he possessed a balance-wheel; as it is, he was a mediocre one.

WHILE central Europe was being convulsed with the gigantic contest of the Spanish Succession, a war in the north went on which has some interest for us, though fruitful rather in negative than in positive lessons. Two remarkable men enacted the chief rôles, — Peter the Great, who began the work which has made Russia what she is to-day, and Charles XII., who undid all that his great predecessor, Gustavus Adolphus, had won for Sweden. Both these men were strong and able; but Peter's practical intelligence lacked brilliancy, while Charles' brilliant intellect ran off into the

unbalanced trait which ever and anon cropped up in the Vasa family. Peter was a magnificent passionate animal, who civilized his subjects with the knout, but who in government and politics had a thorough, patient, reasonable habit of mind, which viewed things as they actually were and marshaled them in methodical array. Charles was strict in his morality,



Campaigns of Charles XII.

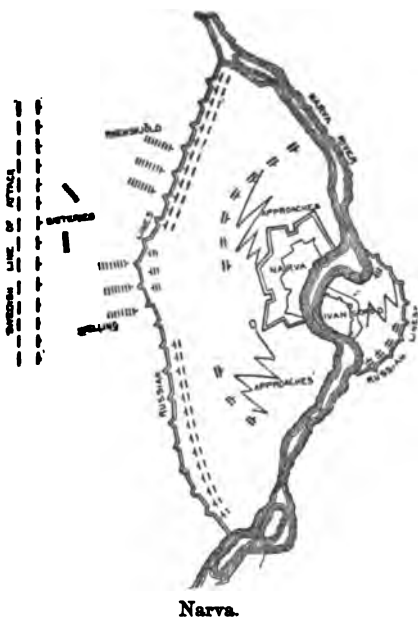
had none of the passions of his great opponent, and possessed all the virtues of private life; he was a king who indulged in neither wine, women nor song; but in political matters he was headstrong, foolish and senseless. He had much of the Vasa intellect; he had much of the equipment which made Gustavus so great; but he quite lacked that astonishing mental poise which kept Gustavus from falling into a network of errors.

Peter had found the Baltic a Swedish lake, and he determined to make it an open sea, and to own harbors in it of some value to Russia, — a thing which must of necessity lead to war. Another breeder of trouble for the Swedes was the attempt of Augustus, king of Poland and elector of Saxony, to reconquer Livonia, which Gustavus had taken from Sigismund. Still another was that Frederick of Denmark had a quarrel with the duke of Holstein-Gottorp, the brother-in-law of Charles XII. ; and the latter, a mere boy of fifteen when, in 1697, he ascended the throne, embraced the duke's cause. These three monarchs, Peter, Augustus and Frederick, who deemed Sweden an easy prey, concluded a union against her. The Danes invaded Schleswig; the Saxons laid siege to Riga, and the Russians invested Narva. The eighteen-year-old king had as much on his hands at the opening of his reign as Gustavus Adolphus.

Instinct with the true Vasa courage, Charles rose superbly to the occasion. Not waiting for Denmark to attack him, he sent eight thousand men to Pomerania, and started from Stockholm in May, 1700. The English and Dutch fleets were on his side, — that of free commerce and an open Sound, which Denmark threatened to close. On forty-three ships he embarked his Swedes, crossed over to Zealand, and, threatening Copenhagen, compelled an immediate contribution of money and victual. Not anticipating so speedy an attack, Frederick was at a distance; but though he hurried to the spot, he found himself summarily driven into the peace of Travendal, in August, by which he indemnified Holstein and agreed to future neutrality towards Sweden. This was a handsome gain. Charles had bettered on Gustavus' Danish war. But he was aided by what his great predecessor had not, a now powerful country and a splendid army. Though Denmark was shelved, the two other enemies were yet

threatening. Peter had assembled one hundred thousand men to invade Livonia, and Riga was being stoutly pressed by the Poles, and ably defended by the veteran Alberg. In the event, Riga being a free town of great commercial value, the Poles retired from it, lest they should embroil themselves with England and Holland.

Passing through and ravaging Ingria, Peter, with eighty



thousand men, appeared before Narva in October, 1700. They were not soldiers in the sense of the Swedes, who still retained what Gustavus had willed them, and though Peter was gradually seeking to teach them discipline, they were an ill-fed, ill-armed and half-organized rabble, of whom the larger part had only arrows and clubs, and in lieu of soldierly instinct had but the dogged, persistent obedience for which

the Russian has always been famous. And although Peter had purchased a great number of guns, there was scarcely any knowledge of artillery practice in his army. Not arrogating to himself the divine right, Peter's forces were commanded by a German, and the leaven of the troops was German. Nothing shows the low condition of the Russian army more than that their poor knowledge of sieges had enabled them in ten weeks to make scarcely any progress. Charles

crossed the Baltic in two hundred vessels, and landing at Pernau, in the gulf of Riga, advanced with twenty thousand men, of which four thousand were horse, to the relief of Narva. Hurrying forward to Revel, he started from here with the horse and four thousand foot, and leaving his baggage at Wesenburg, half way to Narva, marched through a country which the enemy had ruthlessly devastated, struck the Russian outposts in a defile which a handful could have defended, and drove them in. No resistance was made worthy the name, and in order to utilize the moral effect of his first gain, without waiting for the rest of the army, Charles pushed on, and November 29 stood in front of Narva.

Lying on the west of the river of the same name, Narva was fairly strong. On the east bank was a small town, also fortified. The Russians had mounted many batteries, had made approaches to both places, and had built a line of circumvallation from the river above to the river below, nearly three miles long. It was of earthworks, with a deep ditch, some outworks well flanked, and covered by abatis and *trous de loup*. Peter had gone towards Moscow to bring up an army of reinforcements; and General Croy (Kreuz) was in command.

Tired as the troops were, indefatigable Charles set them at making gabions and fascines while he reconnoitred the lines. Though he had but one man in ten of the Russians (five thousand foot and three thousand horse), he would not wait for the bulk of his army to come up, but ordered an assault. He knew his troops, — ever since the day of Gustavus the Swedes had outranked every army in Europe, — and took counsel of his own superabundant gallantry. Charles had the *élan* of the true cavalry leader; but he lacked the reserve of the great captain. He possessed Gustavus' fiery boldness, perhaps the great Swede's worst trait as king and army

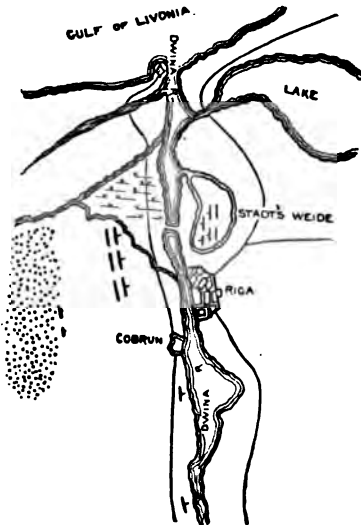
leader; and lacked his methodical caution, unquestionably his greatest virtue.

Two columns were organized, the right under Welling, the left under Rhenskjöld, and such batteries as had come on with the king were planted so as to aid the assault. The cavalry was held in reserve, with orders to ride in so soon as the foot should have made a passage for them, and to drive home with the cold steel. At 2 P. M. of November 30, on the signal given, two "fusees," the columns rushed forward with the watchword "With God's help!" Luckily a storm of sleet was blowing in the faces of the enemy; and so hot was the assault that in a quarter-hour the lines were taken and a breach practicable for cavalry was made. Believing in themselves, believing in their king, the Swedes, in spite of numbers, broke through the Muscovite array, and cut the enemy down by thousands. It was like the old battles of Alexander against the Oriental hordes. The enemy turned and fled, part towards the river on the north, where their mass broke down the bridge, part to some barracks on the bank, where they offered a desperate resistance. The Russian generals of the right wing were all captured; and by nighfall that part of the line was secured. The Russian left was still unbroken, and promised another battle on the morrow, for which Charles duly prepared; but during the night, in imitation of the left, they concluded to surrender also.

The Swedes, out of eight thousand men, lost six hundred killed and one thousand four hundred wounded. Of the Russians over eighteen thousand are said to have been cut down. Innumerable trophies were taken, and one hundred and forty-five new bronze guns. The victory was complete, the triumph of a disciplined handful against an unorganized multitude. But it would not always be thus. To Peter, who came up too late with his forty thousand reinforcements, the

battle of Narva was a lesson by which he failed not to profit, to arm and discipline his forces while he was civilizing his people. Charles would have been wise to bring him to a peace or to cripple him before turning on Augustus. But Charles XII. lacked wisdom and was a slave of blind prejudice. His chief desire was to humble Poland; he could not see that Peter was a vastly more dangerous opponent than Augustus; and in his pursuit of the latter, he lost sight of the growing power of the Czar.

That Russia and Poland must not be allowed to work into each other's hands Charles saw clearly enough; but the easiest way to prevent this was to push Peter to the wall, as Charles now could do, but by and by might not. He chose to leave his work half done, and so soon as the season opened, advanced to the Dwina to



The Dwina.

relieve Riga. He reached the river the middle of July, and camped in the Stadts Weide north of the town. By sending a column with a train of artillery *en évidence* up river, Charles persuaded the enemy that he would seek to cross above, and led them to disperse their forces in detachments along the banks, having done which he bridged the river and ferried over his troops under cover of a heavy smoke of dampened straw, which the north wind blew towards the enemy. The latter had assembled to oppose the crossing, and

the left bank was covered by numerous defenses ; but they remained in place and awaited attack instead of interfering with the passage. After an initial check at landing, Charles defeated the enemy, with small loss to himself, and drove them back into Courland, whither he speedily followed, taking the same cities, and covering much the same ground, as Gustavus did nearly a hundred years before. Thence during the rest of 1701 he advanced into Lithuania, taking place after place, unswerving in his determination to dethrone Augustus as king of Poland. In this he was aided by the Sapieha party, between which and its rivals, the Oginskys, the land was torn. His route lay up the Memel to Grodno, and thence down the Bobs and Narew to Warsaw, which opened its gates to him May 15, 1702.

Augustus saw that he had to fight for Poland, and the two kings met near Klissow, a small place between Warsaw and Cracow, in July, 1702. Augustus had twenty-four thousand men ; Charles but half as many. The Swedes were marshaled as usual in two lines, with cavalry on the wings. Their advance was through a wood, and some manœuvring had to be resorted to to get the army on suitable ground. But Charles pushed his offensive vigorously, and the Poles, who formed Augustus' right wing, fled early in the battle and left the latter to fight with the Saxons alone. Despite the good conduct of these, Charles won handsomely, at a loss to the Swedes of three hundred killed and eight hundred wounded, to two thousand killed and wounded of the enemy. There were forty-eight guns and one thousand seven hundred prisoners taken. The Polish king fled to Cracow, whither Charles followed, and took the place. To overrun the country and defeat Augustus did not mean that the land was under the control of the conqueror. Charles had not Gustavus' solid method. The months were consumed in taking

and garrisoning the towns, and in dispersing the roving bands of soldiers of fortune to whom peace could be no gain ; and a considerable force was kept out on the borders of Poland to head off the raids of the Russians.

Next year, in May, 1703, Charles defeated the Saxons with ridiculous ease at Pultusk, northwest of Warsaw, where Augustus had assembled, each army having some ten thousand men. The name of Swede was enough to rout any opponent ; a bare six hundred men were lost by the enemy, so rapidly did they flee. Augustus retired to Thorn on the Vistula ; Charles laid siege to it, and Danzig and Elbing were mulcted for interference with his transports. Having finally got control of the land, Augustus was legally deposed and the Protestant Stanislaus Lesczinski was elected king of Poland.

During these three years devoted to the control of Poland, Charles had lost sight of Peter and his doings ; but this most dangerous opponent had not only been creating an army, but had founded St. Petersburg in 1703 and captured Narva in 1704. He promised to give a better account of himself when he next met the Swedes.

Augustus made one more effort for Poland. Charles was still engaged in reducing the land, of which hundreds of towns sent him the keys so soon as he approached. While he took Leopold in September, 1704, Augustus advanced on Warsaw, from which the new king fled, and captured it. Charles and Stanislaus advanced against his army, of which Schulenburg was in command. This was an able general, but he needed all his skill to control the troops, discouraged by long ill-success. They were made up of Poles, half-hearted in his cause and ready to fight for either king, raw Saxon recruits, who had seen no war, and vagabond Cossacks. To fight such men was, as Charles said, hunting, not war. And be it observed, Charles so far had met no one worthy of

his steel. The effort of Schulenburg, his first able opponent, was rather to keep the army intact for his master than to aim at an impossible victory. His was a policy really Fabian.

In the Posen country, on the Warta, Schulenburg learned that Charles and Stanislaus, whom he thought far off, had reached his vicinity by a march of fifty leagues in nine days. Charles pushed his troops faster than any man of his day. Schulenburg had eight thousand foot and one thousand horse. In the belief that he could make his foot stand up to cavalry (Gustavus had done so in these same countries), he drew up in extra close order on ground where he could not be surrounded, but had his retreat open; his first rank of pikemen and musketeers mixed, kneeled; the second, slightly stooping, fired over the first; the third over the two others. To the surprise of Charles and Stanislaus, their cavalry could not be driven in upon this array of pikes vomiting lead. Schulenburg, five times wounded, held himself all day, and at night retired in a hollow square to Guhran, east of Glogau, not far from the Oder.

The kings followed him up sharply. Beyond Guhran as far as the Oder the country was heavily wooded; and through this wood the Saxon general led his army, now reduced by half. The Swedes followed through almost impassable paths. Near Rutzen, at the outlet of the woods, Schulenburg crossed the little river Bartsch just in time to escape Charles; but this indefatigable monarch found fords, led over his cavalry, and penned Schulenburg up in the confluence of the Bartsch and Oder. Schulenburg seemed lost, but by sacrificing a rear-guard, he got across the Oder the succeeding night.

Schulenburg had saved Augustus his army, but the Saxon king made no use of it. He again abandoned Poland, personally retired to Saxony, and fortified Dresden. While

Charles and Stanislaus were busy driving back sundry Muscovite raids on the eastern border of Poland, Schulenburg again assembled an army and recrossed the Oder. But he was met by Rhenskjöld (the "Parmenio of the Northern Alexander") at Frauenstadt, February 12, 1706, and though he had twenty thousand men to Rhenskjöld's ten thousand, was utterly defeated, — the Saxon recruits decamping as at Breitenfeld. The unequaled discipline which Gustavus Adolphus had introduced among the Swedes had lasted one hundred years. The Russians in Schulenburg's army were cut down to a man to save taking prisoners.

In September, 1706, Charles invaded Saxony. Augustus, who had shut himself up in Cracow, dared not return to his Saxon capital. At Leipsic Charles camped on the field of Lützen. His army, be it said to his credit, was governed by the same splendid discipline he had inherited. Peace was dictated at Altranstädt, near Leipsic, by which Augustus renounced the Polish crown and recognized Stanislaus; abjured his treaty with Russia and provisioned and paid the Swedish army for the winter.

There was some question as to what part this brilliant soldier would take in the Succession War; but Marlborough visited him this year, and with his persuasive tongue and some English gold, well laid out, won him to the cause of the allies. Charles, however, took no part in the war.

Comparisons have sometimes been drawn between Charles and Gustavus. The structure erected by the one, who saved Protestantism to Germany, and the wreck left by the other, who found Sweden the great kingdom Gustavus had made it, and left it stripped of all save honor, speak for themselves. Merely to compare the work done by Charles from 1700 to 1707 — his period of success — with that done by Gustavus from 1630 to 1632 suffices to gauge the two men.

Gustavus, opposed by the best generals of the day, in twenty-eight months reduced to control all Germany; had he outlived Lützen, he would have at once dictated peace in Vienna. Charles, against opposition barely worth the name, in seven years reduced Poland and invaded Saxony; but his holding was insecure; what he took he did not keep, and what he had received from his ancestors he lost. At the same time Charles was a brilliant soldier within his limits. As a lieutenant, guided by the discretion of some great captain, he would have been incomparable. He was a good disciplinarian, an untiring worker, gallantry personified in battle, and with the true soldier's ambition and skill. He lacked but one thing, — the breadth which puts aside prejudice, which gauges things as they really are, and which truthfully forecasts the future.

While Charles was permitting his hatred of Augustus to lead him to the Elbe, he lost sight of the fact that his worst enemy, Peter, had been given years in which to build up an army, and had utilized the time well. The Russian army now numbered many German officers of experience. The czar invaded Poland with sixty thousand men, to which force Charles' lieutenant, Levenhaupt, with his regiments scattered along the border in Livonia, Lithuania and Poland, could not hold head, and sat down at Leopold and later at Lublin to gain control of Poland. Between conquering Swedes, and pillaging Russians and Poles, the poor land groaned under fearful oppression. Charles might even now have made a peace with Peter at the price of allowing him a port at his new capital; but he would have all or none, and the Baltic belonged to Sweden.

Stanislaus returned to Poland with Rhenskjöld in August, 1707; Peter prudently retired into Lithuania. Having spent a year in Saxony, Charles left for Russia in September, 1707,

at the head of forty-three thousand men; Levenhaupt had twenty thousand in Poland; there were fifteen thousand in Finland, and recruits were coming from Sweden. This was no longer an army of Swedish veterans. So many of the old soldiers and officers had been sent home that the solidity of the force had been impaired. But it was still a Swedish army, and with it there was no doubt in the mind of Charles that he would dethrone Peter as he had done Augustus. At this point began his miscalculations.

Peter was at Grodno on the Memel, and here Charles sought him out in January, 1708, at the head of his cavalry; and though, riding on with his wonted recklessness, he reached the place at the head of but six hundred horse, Peter, who was almost taken prisoner, precipitately retired. With prudent foresight the czar had made up his mind not to fight Charles, but to starve him out. What he lacked in brilliant conduct he more than made up in good judgment. Three routes were open to Charles: on newly founded St. Petersburg via Pleskow and Novgorod, safe and apt to yield good results; on Moscow via Smolensk, a marsh part way, a desert the rest; a southern route, the least good of all. On the first he was always near his base; on the second there was peril enough; to select the third was a leap in the dark.

The whole Russian army had rendezvoused in the province of Minsk. Despite the perilous route and the sparsely peopled country, quite unequal to subsist an army, Charles pushed on, and by June 25, 1708, he had reached the Beresina at Borissov, where the czar had assembled to defend his land. Charles, by a march up river, turned him out of his intrenchments, and he retired, devastating everything on the way to retard the Swedes. Charles followed, defeating by a bold attack a body of twenty thousand Rus-

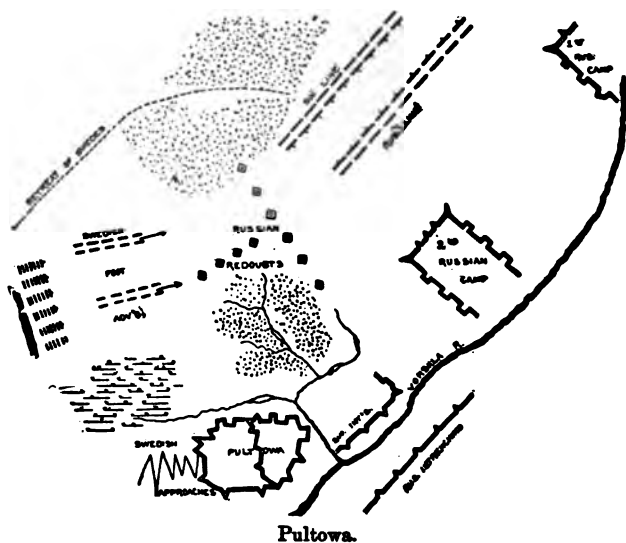
sians intrenched behind a marsh at Hollosin, and crossed the Dnieper (Borysthenes) at Moghilev, then the most easterly of the Polish cities. Peter retired by way of Smolensk along the great highway to Moscow. He was gaining in strength as Charles lost. On September 22 Charles came near meeting his death in one of the numerous vanguard fights which daily occurred, and in which he exposed himself as Gustavus used to do.

His position was becoming a perilous one, but he could not see it. To fight an enemy who will stand, to pursue a flying enemy into a populous country, is one thing; to follow an ever-retreating foe into a desert is safe to no captain. It is scarcely doubtful that Charles would have been lost, as was later the great Corsican, had he pushed on to Moscow; but, worse still, he was persuaded to turn aside from the straight road to a southerly one into the Ukraine, by the Cossack hetman Mazeppa, who proposed to revolt from the czar, and who promised to join him with thirty thousand men on the Desna, and with abundant provisions and gold. Allies and food were what Charles now most needed. On the Desna Charles purposed to winter and prepare for a march on Moscow in the spring. But anticipating the plan, the Russians destroyed Mazeppa's preparations, and when Charles reached the rendezvous, it was to find only a fugitive demanding help, not a prince with reinforcements. Charles' only hope was now based on Levenhaupt, who was following with fifteen thousand men and a convoy of eight thousand wagons. But the Swedish general had already fallen a prey to Peter's army of forty thousand men, who day after day forced battle on him, and with his now much better troops, though at fearful cost, cut Levenhaupt's numbers down to five thousand men, and seized the convoy. Levenhaupt joined Charles with a wreck of brave men and without victual or munitions. The

Swedish monarch was cut off from Poland and Sweden, was reduced to twenty-four thousand half-starved men, was obliged to abandon his guns from lack of horses to haul them, and had no prospects for the future unless Stanislaus could reach him with a new army. It was boldness unminged with caution which had led him to this; inability to gauge facts as they were, to foresee contingencies. The winter was passed amid constant attacks by the roving bodies of Russians. In April, 1709, Charles had but twenty thousand Swedes left, — but, with a courage worthy of a better fate, he still aimed at Moscow. Towards the end of May he undertook the siege of Pultowa, with the aid of native tribes which about doubled his numbers; the place was of no importance, but contained an abundance of victual. Charles had taught the Russians how to make war, and he found Pultowa well garrisoned and hard to take. The czar came to its relief with eighty thousand men of regular troops, plus forty thousand Calmucks and Cossacks. Charles went out to meet the enemy, and on the 7th of July beat one of its detachments; but he was unfortunately wounded. Peter came up, and Charles had to confide the attack of the 8th to Rhenskjöld, he himself being carried on a litter.

The Swedes had been besieging Pultowa from one side only. The Russians approached from the other and, after crossing the Vorskla, built an intrenched camp, which shortly they gave up for a second one nearer the town. As a wing to this, opposite the Swedish camp, a number of redoubts were constructed between two patches of woods, a body of troops was sent to attempt a crossing of the Vorskla at a point nearer the town held by the Swedes, and Peter sat down to await events, as he could well afford to do. As usual, Charles determined on summary attack, despite disparity in numbers, and on the morning of July 8, 1709,

the Swedish foot in four columns advanced to assault the redoubts, followed by the horsemen in six columns. Between the redoubts had been set up a large body of Russian horse ; this was summarily attacked and driven in confusion well back beyond the large camp. The two woods were too near together to afford a chance to form line, and the king's intention was to pass between the redoubts without attempting to



capture them, form opposite and assault the intrenched camp. The bulk of the army carried out this programme, but the left wing took to assaulting the redoubts in its front, and finally, after great loss, got cut off from the rest of the army.

Backing on one of the woods, the king formed line, under the fire of one hundred and twenty Russian guns, and advanced to the assault of the camp. Parts of his line reached it, penetrated it ; parts did not. But all along the line the gallant Swedes encountered opposition such as Russians had never yet shown. Peter's seven years had borne

fruit, and he now had a stanch army. Gradually falling back, the Swedes were followed up, and a heavy battle ensued at the edge of the plain. Charles, on his litter, could do but little; General Rhenskjöld was captured, and after sacrificing a large number of his men, the king saw that the battle was lost. He retired by the way he had come, and moved in fairly good order to the confluence of the Dnieper and Vorskla. There he counted, all told, invalided and for duty, sixteen thousand men. The loss in the battle had been fully four thousand.

The battle of Pultowa ended the career of Charles XII., so far as any but trivial operations were concerned. The position of Sweden was rudely disturbed; Peter established that of Russia. Having taken refuge with the Turks, Charles remained with them until 1714, obstinately seeking through their means to conduct further campaigns against Russia. In 1711 he did succeed in placing Peter in a questionable situation on the Pruth, but the czar cleverly managed to buy a peace from the Turks, in which it was provided that Charles might return unmolested to Sweden. But, angry at the peace, the king would not leave Bender, a camp in Bessarabia where he played the rôle of a species of royal captive, and which, indeed, in 1713, he undertook to defend against an army that sought to compel him to withdraw.

Nothing militates so greatly against the reputation of Charles XII. as a soldier, as this refusal to return home. In this era of danger, Sweden needed her king. Charles had ability enough, Sweden had elasticity enough, between them to bring matters back to some kind of satisfactory basis.



Russian Soldier.

His strategic errors in his Russian campaign are easily forgiven : another and greater soldier committed such. But no strategy is sound which has not patriotism as a basis. The



Turkish Soldier.

greatest soldiers have sought primarily the good of the fatherland : Alexander made Macedon govern the earth ; Hannibal had Rome at his feet, but stupid Carthage would not accept the gift ; Cæsar and Napoleon, on the theory of *L'Etat c'est moi*, were patriotic strategists ; Gustavus and Frederick were truly such. On this test the military reputation of Charles XII. is shattered. From mere childish prejudice — spite is the better word — he would not return to his country when his country needed him, because a free return was given him, not conquered. He remained in Bender yet three years, wearing out his welcome, but treated

with great magnificence.

Many volumes have been written about this singular monarch ; nothing is easier than to fill others. He was a man of genius, without a balance-wheel, and in war the latter is the greater part of genius. Brilliant as few men have ever been, a soldier to his finger-tips, he remains on the page of history as holding no greater rank than a magnificent corps-commander. He returned to Sweden in 1714, and was shot, by an assassin probably, in front of Friedrichshall, in 1718. Sweden was despoiled of all her provinces, and became a minor power. What she owed to Gustavus she lost through Charles XII., — a monarch possessing abundant courage, abundant skill, abundant means, but lacking the one trait which he needed to make him truly great, — discretion.

APPENDIX A.

SOME MODERN MARCHES.

MARCHES, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were apt to be slow, owing to bad roads, long trains, numerous non-combatants, and the habit of plying an army into several columns, for some of which roads had to be prepared. Following are a few samples, most of which, tried by our standard, are ordinary; a few, good for any era.

1. In October and November, 1632, Gustavus, with about 20,000 men of all arms, marched over bad roads, from Donauwörth to Naumburg, some 270 miles by the route he took, in 18 days, or 15 miles a day.

2. In August, 1644, Condé, with about 10,000 men of all arms, marched from the Moselle to Freiburg, 210 miles in 13 days, or 16 miles a day.

3. In 1657, Turenne, with over 30,000 men of all arms, marched from the Scheldt-Sambre region to the Lys, 75 miles in 3 days, or 25 miles a day.

4. In June, 1674, Turenne, with 9,000 men of all arms, marched from the Rhine to Sinsheim, 90 miles in 4 days, or $17\frac{1}{2}$ miles a day.

5. In October, 1704, Charles XII., with 20,000 men of all arms, marched from the Vistula to the Oder, over bad roads, 180 miles in 10 days, or 18 miles a day.

6. In August, 1706, Eugene, with 25,000 men of all arms, marched from Reggio to Villa Stellona, 240 miles in 16 days, or 15 miles a day. Counting out a rest-day, owing to intense heat, the rate was 16 miles a day.

7. In July, 1708, Marlborough, with 65,000 men of all arms, marched from near Brussels on Oudenarde, 40 miles in 48 hours, or 20 miles a day.

8. In September, 1709, the duke of Hesse-Cassel, with 10,000 men of all arms, marched from Douay to Obourg and Havré, 49 miles in 56 hours, or 21 miles a day.

APPENDIX B. CASUALTIES IN SOME MODERN BATTLES.

Battle of	Date.	Number Engaged.	Nationality.	Number Killed.	Per- cent- age. ¹	Usual Per- cent- age. ¹	Killed and Wounded.	Per- cent- age. ¹	Usual Per- cent- age. ¹	Loss of Enemy.	Remarks.
Bretzenfeld.....	Sept. 7, 1631	26,900	Swedes.....	-	-	-	2,100	8	13	13,000	{ ^a Variousl stated at 2,000 to 4,000.
Alto Veste.....	Aug. 24, 1632	20,000	Swedes.....	-	-	-	3,000 ^b	15	13	2,000	{ ^b As generally given. Uncertain.
Lützen.....	Nov. 16, 1632	20,000	Mixed.....	-	-	-	10,000 ^b	50	13	-	{ ^c Attack ending in rout.
Nördlingen.....	Sept. 15, 1634	26,000	Swedes.....	-	-	-	12,000 ^b	46	13	1,200	{ ^c On both sides.
Rocroy.....	May 18, 1643	23,000	French.....	-	-	-	2,000 ^c	8 ¹	13	9,000	{ ^c Three days' fighting.
Marston Moor.....	July 2, 1644	50,000 ^d	English.....	4,000	2	4	-	-	-	-	{ ^d Loss said to have been half the army.
Freiburg.....	Aug. 3-5, 1644	20,000	French.....	-	-	-	6,000	30	13	-	{ ^e Doubtful.
Altenheim.....	Aug., 1645	15,000	Bavarians.....	-	-	-	9,000	60	13	-	{ ^f Massacre.
".....	".....	16,000	Headians, French.....	-	-	-	4,000	22 ¹	13	-	-
Lens.....	Aug., 1647	18,000	Spanish and Dutch.....	4,000	22 ¹	5	-	-	-	-	-
St. Antoine.....	July 5, 1652	5,000	French.....	-	-	-	2,000	40	20	-	-
".....	".....	11,000	".....	-	-	-	2,500	23	20	-	-
Arnas.....	Aug., 1654	30,000	French.....	-	-	-	3,000	10	13	-	-
The Dunes.....	June, 1658	14,000	French.....	-	-	-	500	3 ¹	13	-	-
Blenheim.....	June, 1704	9,000	Spanish and Dutch.....	-	-	-	1,000	7	13	-	-
".....	".....	9,000	French.....	1,200	13 ¹	-	-	-	-	-	-
Benef.....	Aug., 1674	45,000	Imp'l, Lorraine.....	2,000	22 ¹	-	-	-	-	-	-
".....	".....	65,000	French.....	-	-	-	7,000	15 ¹	13	30,000 ^d	{ ^d Loss said to have been half the army.
Entzheim.....	Oct., 1674	22,000	Spanish and Dutch.....	15,000	23	4	30,000 ^e	16 ¹	-	-	{ ^e Doubtful.
".....	".....	38,000	French.....	2,000	9	5	3,500	8	-	-	-
Kara.....	Nov. 9, 1700	8,000	Germans.....	3,000	8	4	2,000	25	13	18,000 ^f	{ ^f Massacre.
Luzzara.....	Aug. 15, 1701	36,000	Swedes.....	600	7 ¹	4	2,000	25	13	-	-
".....	".....	36,000	Austrians.....	2,000	5 ¹	4	5,000	14	13	-	-
Kilcow.....	July, 1702	12,000	French.....	2,000	5 ¹	4	1,100	9	13	-	-
".....	".....	24,000	Swedes.....	300	2 ¹	4	2,000	8	13	-	-
Schallenberg.....	July 2, 1704	10,500	Poles and Saxons.....	1,500	14 ¹	5	5,500	52 ¹	20	-	-

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Cromwell at Bristol.....	Sept. 10-11, 1646	
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Münningen operation.....	Oct. 1646	
Condé at Dunkirk.....	Sept.-Oct. 1646	
Cromwell at Basing House.....	Oct. 14, 1646	
Bavaria deserts Ferdinand.....	March, 1647	
Condé in Catalonia.....	1647	
Zusmarshausen operation.....	May, 1648	
Condé takes Ypres.....	May, 1648	
Turenne on the Inn.....	July, 1648	
Battle of Preston Pans.....	Aug. 1648	
Battle of Lens.....	Fall, 1648	
Peace of Westphalia.....	Oct. 24, 1648	
Capture of Drogheda.....	Sept. 12, 1649	
Wexford and Clonmell.....	Winter, 1649	
Battle of Dunbar.....	Sept. 3, 1650	
Condé imprisoned by Mazarin.....	1650	
Turenne invades France.....	1650	
Battle of Champ Blanc.....	Dec. 1650	
Battle of Worcester.....	Sept. 3, 1651	
Turenne arrayed against Condé.....	1652	
Blisneau affair.....	March, 1652	
Siege of Etampes.....	Spring, 1652	
Battle of St. Antoine.....	July 8, 1652	
Turenne protects the court.....	Summer and Fall, 1652	
Operation at Villeneuve St. Georges.....	Oct. 1652	
Campaign on the Somme.....	Summer, 1653	
Relief of Arras by Turenne.....	Aug. 24, 1654	
Relief of Valenciennes by Condé.....	July 16, 1656	
Campaign on border of Holland.....	1657	
Turenne takes Dunkirk.....	May and June, 1658	

LIST OF DATES.

	A. D.		A. D.
Battle of the Dunes.....	June 14, 1658	War in Spain begins — Gibraltar taken	1704
Capture of Bergen.....	June 29, 1658	Assault on the Schellenberg.....	July 2, 1704
Peace of the Pyrenees.....	1659	Battle of Blenheim.....	Aug. 13, 1704
Triple Alliance.....	Jan. 1668	Peter takes Narva.....	1704
Peace of Aachen.....	May, 1668	Stanislaus Leszczinski elected king of Po-	
French invade Holland.....	Spring, 1672	land.....	1704
William of Orange placed in command	Aug. 1672	Augustus recaptures Warsaw.....	Sept. 1704
Turenne operates against Great Elector		Schulemberg defeated at Punitz.....	1704
and Montecuculi.....	Fall, 1672	Schulemberg's famous retreat.....	1704
Turenne and Montecuculi on the Main		Eugene and Vendome in Italy.....	1705
Summer, 1673		Archduke Charles in Spain.....	1705
Battle of Sinsheim.....	June 16, 1674	Marlborough on the Moselle and in Hol-	
Battle of Benef.....	Aug. 11, 1674	land.....	1705
Battle of Entzheim.....	Oct. 4, 1674	Battle of Frauenstadt.....	Feb. 1706
Turenne's turning manœuvre		Battle of Ramillies.....	May 23, 1706
Nov.-Dec. 1674		Galway takes Madrid.....	June, 1706
Battle of Türkheim.....	Jan. 5, 1675	Battle of Turin.....	Sept. 7, 1706
Turenne's last campaign.....	June-July, 1675	Charles XII. invades Saxony.....	1706
Turenne's death.....	July 26, 1675	Charles XII. dictates peace at Leipsic..	1706
Peace of Nymwegen.....	1679	Marlborough in Holland.....	1707
Relief of Vienna by Sobieski.....	Sept. 12, 1683	Eugene at Toulon.....	1707
Battle of Fleurus.....	June 30, 1690	Battle of Almanza.....	Spring, 1707
Battle of the Boyne.....	July 1, 1690	Allies forced back to Catalonia.....	Fall, 1707
Battle of Cape La Hogue.....	May, 1692	Charles XII. returns to Poland.....	Sept. 1707
Battle of Steenkirk.....	July 24, 1692	Charles XII. at Grodno.....	Jan. 1708
Battle of Neerwinden.....	July 29, 1693	Charles XII. at the Beresina.....	June, 1708
Battle of Marsaglia.....	Oct. 4, 1695	Battle of Oudenarde.....	July 11, 1708
Peace of Ryswick.....	Sept. 30, 1697	Siege of Lille.....	Oct. 1708
Charles XII. invades Zealand.....	June, 1700	Charles XII. marches to the Ukraine	Fall, 1708
Peter the Great at Narva.....	Oct. 1700	Fortress War.....	1708-1709
Battle of Narva.....	Nov. 29, 1700	Villars' lines.....	Spring, 1709
Eugene and Catinat in Italy		Siege of Poltova.....	May, 1709
April-May, 1701		Battle of Poltova.....	July 8, 1709
Battle of Riga.....	July, 1701	Siege of Tournay.....	July, 1709
Charles XII. overruns Courland and		Advance on Mons.....	Sept. 4, 1709
Lithuania.....	1701	Battle of Malplacquet.....	Sept. 11, 1709
Marlborough commander-in-chief in Hol-		Siege of Douay.....	Spring, 1710
land.....	1702	Stahremberg and Vendome in Spain.....	1710
Eugene against Villeroi and Vendome in		Siege of Bethune.....	July, 1710
Italy.....	1702	Siege of Aire and St. Venant.....	1710
Operation of Mantua.....	May, 1702	Capture of Bouchain.....	1711
Charles XII. captures Warsaw.....	May, 1702	Peter buys peace on the Pruth.....	1711
Battle of Klissow.....	July, 1702	English on the defensive.....	1712
Battle of Luzzara.....	Aug. 5, 1702	Siege of Quesnoy by Eugene.....	Summer, 1712
Marlborough in Holland.....	1703	Siege of Landrecies by Eugene.....	Summer, 1712
Vendome against Stahremberg in Italy		Villars raises siege of Landrecies	July 24, 1712
Villars' Baden raid.....	Feb. 1703	Villars and Eugene on the Rhine.....	1713
Battle of Pultusk.....	May, 1703	Charles XII. returns to Sweden.....	1714
Peter founds St. Petersburg.....	1703	Victory of Belgrade.....	1717
Villars' manœuvres against Louis of		Death of Charles XII.....	1718
Baden.....	Summer and Fall, 1703		
Marlborough and Eugene on the Danube			
1704			





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